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TAMIL CULTURE

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Head of the Tamil Department, Madras University, receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature awarded to him at the special convocation of the University of Madras Centenary Celebrations.

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam is founder and Chief Editor of this Journal. He is a member of the Department of Education, University of Ceylon, and is at present engaged in research work at the London Institute of Education.

Rev. Leopald Bazou, *S.J.*, is French by birth and long resident in Tamilnad. His hobby is Dravidiana.

Mr. A. C. Paul Nadar is a keen Tamil Scholar and research worker.

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil is the Head of the Department of Dravidology, University of Prague. He has translated many Tamil works into Czech and is an indefatigable research worker.

Mr. V. Kandaswami Mudaliar has a flair for translation and has translated many poems in the Sangam Literature into English.

Srimathi M. Athilakshmi, *M.A., Diploma in Politics and Public Administration and Visharad Hindi,* is a Government Research Scholar in the Telugu Department of the University of Madras.

The sixth year of publication

செந்தமிழ் நாடெனும் போதினிலே இன்பத்
தேன்வந்து பாயுது காதினிலே.

The sixth year of the publication of *Tamil Culture* synchronises with an historic event of interest to all Tamilophiles. For the first time, the dreams of the poets, sages, and thinkers, who conceived the Tamil triple kingdom as one cultural, linguistic, and political unity, is realised in a manner which those same poets, sages and thinkers of nineteen hundred years ago would never have imagined. Their dreams of "தமிழகம்", "தமிழ்", "தொடுத்த தண்டமிழ் வரைப்பகம்", "பொதுமை சுட்டிய மூவருலகம்" have come to be realised in the establishment of the Tamil State in this mid-twentieth century, with certain losses, it is true, due to the changes that centuries have brought about, but substantially a tribute to the longevity and the vitality of Tamil Culture, ever-ancient and ever new.

May the Tamil State prosper. தமிழ் நாடு வாழ்க!

Recent trends in Ceylon politics, however, have been far from encouraging. The language policies of the parties representing the Sinhalese-speaking group are an affront and an insult to human dignity and to human rights. We hope wiser statesmanship will prevail; cultural and linguistic autonomy with recognition of an official status to Tamil are the conditions indispensable to the existence of Ceylon as a single political unit. We congratulate the Tamil-speaking nation of Ceylon on its stand for Tamil language rights and for fundamental human freedoms.

Tamil Culture has reasons to congratulate its readers on its sixth year of publication, and to hope that they will continue to sponsor the movements which it has initiated

or fostered. When *Tamil Culture* went to print five years ago the founder-editor communicated to his first collaborators that, if the quarterly could be maintained for at least five years, he would feel amply rewarded for having undertaken the venture. But now, thanks to the founding of the Academy of Tamil Culture in Madras and similar cultural bodies in Ceylon, Malaya, South Africa, and other countries, *Tamil Culture* may hope to have a longer lease of life and a wider area of service.

During these five years, the members of the Editorial Board have on several occasions received, either in person or through correspondence, the assurance from scholars resident in many countries of the world that this official organ of the Academy of Tamil Culture answers needs long felt in comparative studies of culture and literature. To the foreign scholars who have been associated with *Tamil Culture,* the Editorial Board offers special thanks. To our subscribers at home in the Tamil-speaking countries, and to the Tamil scholars who have contributed articles to *Tamil Culture*, while thanking them we make the request that they introduce the quarterly to their friends. For, though the circulation figure of *Tamil Culture* is about a thousand, that figure needs to be at least five thousand in order to meet without anxiety the financial commitments of maintaining a quarterly review of this standard. The Tamil-speaking public in various countries could help us to increase our circulation. If such promotional work has not been undertaken so far it is because several Tamils have not heard of *Tamil Culture* or have not been made aware of the need for such a review.

We have endeavoured to make *Tamil Culture* a forum for the discussion also of problems of contemporary interest in the field of Tamiliana and hence our special appeal to prospective contributors is for studies, surveys, articles and reviews about modern Tamil literature and modern Tamil art and discussions on subjects of topical interest related

to the Tamil speaking nations of which form component groups in different countries like India, Ceylon, Malaya, Fiji, Mauritius and South Africa.

To Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai, the embodiment of Tamil culture, pioneer worker in the Tamil Renaissance, friend, philosopher and guide of the younger generation of Tamil students and scholars and our distinguished colleague, the Academy of Tamil Culture offers its congratulations on the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature conferred on him by the University of Madras, at the Special Convocation held during the University's Centenary celebrations.

A seminal period of Indian thought

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The sixth century B.C. is a date which may be conveniently used to denote a most seminal and decisive period in the history of Indian thought. The sixth century B.C. together with the century which preceded it and the one which followed it belong to an era which is commonly held to be the Axial Era of the world (800-300 B.C.) because it was during this era that man in India, in Greece and in China, questioned accepted patterns of life and initiated movements of thought which continue to influence mankind to our own day.[1] The educational systems which prevailed in the Tamil country after the bardic and poetic periods had their origin in Northern India. Brahminism, Jainism, Buddhism and Ajivikism were expounded in Northern India and attained in the areas of their origin considerable development in the definition and systematization of their doctrines and institutions before they were ever introduced into the Tamil country. A knowledge of the circumstances of their origin and of the influences which led to their development in Northern India, is indispensable for the understanding of the patterns of education and the didactic methods which they employed in the South.

It is not possible to explain in any satisfactory manner what events contributed to make the sixth century a most seminal period of Indian thought, since we lack the data

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1 Confucius (c. 550-478) ; Lao-Tsu (c. 600) ; Thales (640-546 B.C.) ; Pythagoras (c. 532) ; Socrates (c. 470-399 B.C.) ; Plato (427-347 B.C.) ; Aristotle (384-322 B.C.).

See W. E. SOOTHILL, *Three Religions of China*, p. 77, O.U.P., London, 1952.

T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, 6th ed., pp. 131-132, Susil-Gupta, Calcutta, 1955.

necessary for such an explanation. Perhaps it was a movement of peoples within India, perhaps it was the same overseas trade with the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean which is said to have brought the first patterns of the Brahmi script to India, perhaps it was contact with the Achaemenid empire, perhaps political upheavals within India, perhaps it was either one or more of these factors which furnished the sudden stimulus to the advance in religious and ethical speculative thought.[2] Further, the culture impact of the Indo-Aryans by now long settled and mixed with the indigenous population, after a career of war, conquest and consolidation in the Indo-Gangetic plain, may be considered another remote but important explanation for the intellectual ferment which appeared in the sixth century. The efflorescence resulting from the miscegenation and cultural fusion of pre-Aryans and non-Aryans with the invaders has been compared to the fusion in Attica (Athens) of the fair-haired northerner and the dark-haired Pelasgian, and the fusion in Latium (Rome) of the ancient Etruscans with later invaders. The Greek efflorescence did not take place in Sparta which is said to have had the purest blood of the northern people.[3]

It has been assumed all too easily that the changes in the trend of human thought in the sixth century were " simultaneous and independent " in the different countries. As far as India is concerned, it seems difficult to imagine that she could have remained unaffected by the military exploits of the Achaemenids in her north-western provinces. Vardhamana Mahavira (*d.* 468 B.C.), Gotama Buddha (*b.c.* 563--*d.* between 486 and 473 B.C.) and Markhali

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2 T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India,* op. cit., p. 61: "These merchants were mostly Dravidians, not Aryans. Such Indian names of the goods imported as were adopted in the West (Solomon's ivory, apes, and peacocks for instance, and the word 'rice', were adaptations, not of Sanskrit or Pali, but of Tamil words."

3 See L. de la VALLEE-POUSSIN, *Indo-europeens et Indo-iraniens. L'inde jusque vers* 300 *av. J-C*; 139 ff; Boccard, Paris, 1924.

J. H. HUTTON, *Caste in India,* p. 224 and p. 148 ff; O.U.P., London, 1951. This book is particularly useful for South Indian Cultural Anthropology.

Gosala (fl. 450 B.C.) were young men when Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) was founding his empire. Within the limits of the Achaemenian empire commercial and political interaction between Greeks, Jews, Indians and Persians was frequent, and the new religions of India were yet in their formative stage when the Indian contingents fought in their " cotton garments " in the armies of Xerxes at Thermopylae and when Darius (522-486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) built and embellished Persepolis.[4] These synchronistic events are recalled here not to argue a case for a two-way flow of ideas between India at one end and Persia, Assyria and Greece at the other, but merely to point out the probability of a furtherance in the development of thought as a result of culture-contacts and of the social and political changes which are likely to take place in a country consequent upon the awareness of changes in other parts of the world. Ideas travelled faster in the ancient world than we are prone to imagine because of the paucity of historical documents, and the same trade routes which brought Skylax (B.C. 517) to explore the course of the Indus could have brought back Indian merchants with information regarding the various peoples in Babylon and their interests and ideologies.[5]

The sixth century B.C. in India records a questioning of traditional beliefs and of philosophical and religious assumptions. This rationalistic tendency appears not only in the new religions which developed in the century but also within Brahman orthodoxy itself. Many of the philosophic systems which were classified and developed at a later period like the mimamsa, the yoga and the sankya ; the theistic bakthi cults of Siva and Vishnu ; popular animistic cults, as well as an influential trend of materialistic and atheistic opinion are found to progress in howso-

[4] Herodotus, VII, 65.

[5] LEVI SYLVAIN, *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderunt*, 1890; See L. de la VALLEE-POUSSIN, *Indo-europiens*, op. cit., p. 99 ; S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, passim, 2nd ed., O.U.P., London, 1940.

ever a tenuous and incipient form in the sixth century B.C.[6]

From a mechanistic and world-constraining concept of sacrifice efficacious *opus operans,* maintaining the cosmic order (ṛta), and conferring the wealth and good-living man could hope for, Vedic thought had arrived by this time at a symbolic explanation of ritual and a monistic identification of the individual with the Absolute—*Tat Tvam Asi.* That excessive formalism and ritualistic determination in religion, combined with a mercenary concept of the fees and gifts which accrued for the service rendered at the altar, led to ambivalence and even multivalence in Indian speculative thinking both within and without priestly circles is no surprise.[7] The parody of the priestly procession in the *Chandogya Upanishad* (I, 12) and the comparison of sacrificial rites to unsafe boats relied on by fools in the *Mundaka* (I, 2, 7-10) express the inadequacy of ritualism and would explain the recourse to agnostic and atheistic thinking at one end, as well as to an intense desire for Union with the divine involving a bright and illuminating faith at the other :

> From the unreal lead me to the real
> From darkness lead me to light
> From death lead me to immortality.
>
> (*Brahadaranyaka U,* I, 3, 28)[8]

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[6] S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Indian Philosophy,* op. cit., vol. I; HEINRICH ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India,* pp. 605-613, Kegan Paul, London, 1951; A. M. ESNOUL, *Le courant affectif a l'interieure du brahminisme ancien,* in BEFEO, vol. VLXIII (1956), pp. 141-207; ALBERT SCHWEITZER, *Indian Thought and Its Development,* pp. 1-67, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1951.

[7] Cf. L. RENOU, *The Religions of India,* University of London, 1953, p. 18: "The Indian mind is constantly seeking hidden correspondences between things which belong to entirely distinct conceptual systems."

[8] Cf. J. N. FARQUHAR, *Religious Thought of India,* p. 57: "There is in the teaching of the Upanishads a basis for pessimism; but their general tone is by no means pessimistic. Emancipation fills many a passage with joyous radiance."
S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *The Principal Upanishads,* pp. 48-145, Allen and Unwin, London, 1953.

Having accepted at some earlier periods, in all likelihood from the animistic thinking of the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, the doctrines of samsara (transmigration) and karma (causal efficiency of one's deeds in the present life affecting the next), the main preoccupation of the religious and intellectual classes of the entire region, and even of the ordinary people, was how the prospect of an unending tedious chain of existence might be ended. All the various schools which appear in the sixth century offered an answer and a doctrine of Release. The *Anguttara Nikaya* mentions as many as sixty-three different philosophical schools (ganas) of thought which existed at the time of the Buddha, and the Jaina books speak of 363 erroneous views with which the Jains had to contend.[9] The extent and popularity of speculation concerning the problems of the future and the cessation of existence did not originate from one and only source, the Vedas, as is commonly believed.[10] Charles Eliot says :—

> "Indian religion is commonly regarded as the offspring of an Aryan religion, brought into India by invaders from the north and modified by contact with Dravidian civilization. The materials at our disposal hardly permit us to take any other point of view, for the literature of the Vedic Aryans is relatively ancient and full and we have no information about the old Dravidians comparable with it. *But were our knowledge less one-sided, we might see that it would be more correct to describe Indian religion as Dravidian religion stimulated and modified by the ideas of Aryan invaders.* For the greatest deities of Hinduism, Siva, Krishna, Rama, Durga and some of its most essential doctrines such as metempsychosis and divine incarnations are either totally unknown to the Veda or obscurely adumbrated in it. *The*

9 CHARLES ELIOT, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 97; HERMANN JACOBI, *Gaina Sutras*, p. XV, S.B.E., vol. XXII says the spiritual career in India offered a field for the ambition of younger sons.

10 LASSEN, RHYS-DAVIDS, CHARLES ELIOT, WINTERNITZ postulate a two-fold tradition, one Brahmin and the other non-Brahmin. See M. WINTERNITZ, HIL, vol. I, p. 311 ff. ID., *Problems of Indian Literature*, pp. 21-56; University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1925.

chief characteristics of mature Indian religion are characteristics of an area, not of a race, and they are not the characteristics of religion in Persia, Greece or other Aryan lands."[11]

Three main streams of educative traditions, which take their rise in a more remote period, progress during the sixth century B.C. One is the informal and technically less specialised process of popular education carried out by the minstrels and bards, the Sutas, Magadhas and Kausilavas, both at court and among the people. It may not have been always a conscious process on the part of the educators; nevertheless, the result was always formative. They kept alive and increased the heroic and epic traditions of the tribe, the clan or the kingdom, and their lays and epics were instrumental in defining and perpetuating the heroic types and the moral, ethical and religious values which were prevalent in the social pattern of their

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[11] CHARLES ELIOT, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. I, p. 91, HEINRICH ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India*, op. cit., p. 60. Editor's note:

Like Buddhism, Jainism, Sankhya, and Yoga, do not accept the authority of the Vedas, and are therefore reckoned as heterodox, i.e., doctrines outside the orthodox Brahman tradition of the Vedas, Upanishads and Vedanta. It was Dr. Zimmer's contention that these heterodox systems represent the thinking of the non-Aryan peoples of India, who were overcome and despised by the Brahmans, but nevertheless could boast of extremely subtle traditions of their own.

Dr. Zimmer regarded Jainism as the oldest of the non-Aryan group, in contrast to most Occidental authorities, who consider Mahavira, a contemporary of one Buddha, to have been its *founder* instead of, as the Jainas themselves (and Dr. Zimmer) claim, only the last of a long line of Jaina teachers. Dr. Zimmer believed that there is truth in the Jaina idea that their religion goes back to a remote antiquity, the antiquity in question being that of the pre-Aryan, so-called Dravidian period, which has recently been dramatically illuminated by the discovery of a series of great Late Stone Age cities in the Indus Valley, dating from the third and perhaps even fourth millennium B.C. (cf. Earnest Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, London, 1935; also Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, pp. 93 ff).

Sankhya and Yoga represented a later, psychological sophistication of the principles preserved in Jainism, and prepared the ground for the forceful anti-Brahman statement of the Buddha. Sankhya and Yoga belong together, as the theory and practice of a single philosophy. Kapila, the reputed founder of Sankhya (cf. *infra*, pp. 281 f), may have been a contemporary of the Upanishadic thinkers, and seems to have given his name to the city in which the Buddha was born, Kapilavastu.

In general, the non-Aryan, heterodox philosophies are not exclusive in the same sense that the Brahman philosophies are; for they are not reserved to members of the three upper castes.

day. This was the "poetic tradition" of Northern India which was responsible for the *Mahabharatha* and the *Ramayana,* the two great epics which have been the media of popular education, and the source of literary developments, for centuries. The origins of the finalised epics are to be sought in the bardic and poetic traditions of earlier times, which were naturally conserved in a more popular language than the language of religious rites.[12]

The second source of educational thought and institutions was the exclusive hereditary system of the Brahminic priestly class. Its origin may be traced to the dim dawn of Vedic social life when "Brahman" did not denote exclusively a caste and when the power of offering the sacrifice was vested in the *paterfamilias,* and when the distinctions had not originated between the "domestic" sacrifices and "revealed" sacrifices. But functional differentiation in a rapidly changing and developing society had led earlier than the sixth century B.C. to the institution of specialised priestly classes and of special schools in which the language, the liturgy and the ritual could be taught by mnemonic techniques along with phonetics, grammar, lexicography and astronomy. The Vedic sacrifice, exacting as it did the faultless and meticulous recitation of every word and every syllable of the sacred verses charged with mystery and magic, provided for early and mature developments in linguistic and grammatical science. An elaborate ritual and the sacrifices lasting several days called for different types of officiants—the *hotar* (caller) who recites the invitatorium to the gods; the *udgatar* (singer) who sings during the preparation and presentation, especially of the soma libations; the *adhvaryu* (executor) who performs the manual tasks reciting the prose formula and prayers; and the *brahman* or high-priest whose office it was to protect the sacrifice from harm by apposite and timely incantations. The *brahman* or high-

12 E. W. HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India,* pp. 363-367; J. N. FARQUHAR, R.T., 44 ff, M. WINTERNITZ, HIL, vol. I, 311 ff, ID., *Some Aspects of Indian Literature,* op. cit., loc. cit.

priest needed to be a consummate master of all the Vedas (three at the time of the earliest recorded definition of the function) and the others had to learn at least one Veda each. Hence the need arose for differentiation into separate types of schools for the teaching of the subjects pertinent to every functional sub-class within the priesthood. A later stage of Brahminic scholasticism and speculation demanded the creation of separate types of grammatical, exegetical and theological schools each one characterised by its own traditions. [13]

Thus the principal institutional forms of Brahminic education were well defined by the dawn of the century (600 B.C.) and it was left for the succeeding centuries to augment, classify and codify the content and discipline, having however a hereditary priestly office and priestly functions always as the core and centre of development. The rigid exclusivism of the system was maintained by the social privileges which the priestly class obtained by a legal and political theory formulated by the priests themselves and by the social immobility imposed by caste. The conservative and exclusive character of the system remains unchanged to this day though the Brahmins are found in a great many different walks of life. [14]

The contribution which the Brahmin priesthood, one of the oldest surviving hereditary priesthoods in the world, has made to learning, is considerable. But it has had a weakness throughout its entire history, which its adversaries sought to avoid in the religious systems they expounded. A priesthood ought to serve a twofold purpose, to offer sacrifice, and to prepare the people for participa-

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13 W. WINTERNITZ, HIL, vol. I, p. 160 ff: See T. BURROW, *The Sanscrit Language*, op cit., pp. 35-51; L. RENOU, *Religions of Ancient India*, op cit., pp. 10-45.

14 KATHLEEN E. GOUGH, *Brahmin kinship in a Tamil village*, in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 58 (1956), pp. 826-855, esp., pp. 836-838.

tion in the sacrifice.[15] The educational function of a Church should be motivated by these two objectives. The Brahmins provided an educational system which was well suited to producing worthy officiants for the sacrifice, and to safeguarding the economic and social stability of their families, but their system neglected the training and intellectual advancement of the people whom they claimed to represent by divine ordinance. [16]

It might have been a fear complex or religious taboos, or a justification along lines similar to the so-called " disciplina arcani " of primitive religions, which originated an esoterism in Brahminic instruction which originally was non-existent among the Vedic people. But the demands of esoterism increased along with the increase of the social power and prestige of the priesthood. From very slender evidence and from sporadic episodes it is impossible to reconstruct the priestly attitude to the education of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas in the environs of the sixth century B.C. The narratives which refer to Brahmins acting as tutors to royal princes are no indications of any general concern for the education of the " twice-born ". But the very age-grouping of Brahmin, Kshtriya and Vaisya initiates with implications of earlier maturation of the higher caste or the need for earlier instruction to be imparted to pupils of the higher caste shows the demands of a scale always in favour of the Brahmin child for no ostensible reason other than privilege. [17]

> " In the eighth year after conception, one should perform the initiation (upanayana) of a Brahmana, in the eleventh after conception (that) of a Kshatriya, but in the twelfth that of a Vaisya ".

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[15] Cf. THOMAS ACQUINAS, *Supplementum,* q. 40 a 4 c : " Sacerdos habet duos actus : principalem scilicet, consecrare verum Corpus Christi, et secundarium, scilicet praeparare populum dei ad susceptionem hujus sacramenti."

[16] J. H. HUTTON, *Caste in India,* op. cit., p. 790.

[17] See plausible but unconvincing justification of sastric age grouping in R. K. MOOKERJI, *Ancient Indian Education,* op. cit., p. 174 ff ; F. E. KEAY, Indian Education in Ancient and later times, op. cit., pp. 29-30, is more critical.

"The (time for the) Savitri (initiation) of a Brahmana does not pass until the completion of the sixteenth year (after conception), of a Kshatriya until the completion of the twenty-second, and of a Vaisya until the completion of the twenty-fourth".

"Let students, according to the order (of their castes), wear (as upper dresses) the skins of black antelopes, spotted deer, and he-goats, and (lower garments) made of hemp, flax or wool".

"The girdle of a Brahmana shall consist of a triple cord of Munga grass, smooth and soft; (that) of a Kshatriya, of a bowstring, made of Murva fibres; (that) of a Vaisya, of hempen threads.

"The sacrificial string of a Brahmana shall be made of cotton, (shall be) twisted to the right, (and consist) of three threads, that of a Kshatriya of hempen threads, (and) that of a Vaisya of woollen threads".

"A Brahmana shall (carry), according to the sacred law, a staff of Bilva or Palasa; a Kshatriya, of Vata or Khadira; (and) a Vaisya, of Pilu or Udumbara".

"The staff of Brahmana shall be made of such length as to reach the end of his hair; that of a Kshatriya, to reach his forehead; (and) that of a Vaisya, to reach (the tip of his) nose".[18]

Of the training and education intended for Kshatriyas in the Vedic Age there is no record, and of the Vaisyas there are no examples.[19] As for the Sudras and the outcastes counted as slaves and labour in Brahmin polity, they were excluded from the power-giving wisdom which was the privilege of the dominant group. Similar subjugation and exclusion of a conquered people is found in contemporary Sparta where the discrimination against the Helots led to the Messenian war (464 B.C.). In both countries, Northern India and Sparta, the severity was the outcome

[18] MANU, *Laws*, II, 35-46 (S.B.E., vol. XX 5, pp. 36-38). See Apastamba, I, I, 5, 8-21; Gautama, 1, 5-14.

[19] Cf. MACDONNELL and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, 1, p. 207.

of class prejudice and a fear-complex. Was it the traditional Brahmin attitude which the Dharmasustras of Gautama enunciate ?

> " The ears of a Sudra who listens intentionally when the Veda is being recited are to be filled with molten lead. His tongue is to be cut off if he recites it. His body is to be split in twain if he preserve it in his memory ".[20]

The Upanisadic discipline of secrecy (*rahasyam*= மறை "secret" is another word for the Upanisads) excluded women from Vedic education. Megasthenes (C. 300 B.C.) should have been amused when he wrote that the Brahmins do not communicate their philosophy to their women because they did not think them fit for philosophy and because they feared the women might divulge the secret knowledge to others should they turn perverse.[21] The examples of Gosha, Lopamudra, Maitreyi and Gargi as philosophers or as disputants are too few to argue any general trend in favour of female education. Though Harita allows an upanayana to women ascetics (Brahmavadinis), Manu is the legislator who codifies a general persistent attitude of the post-Vedic period :

> " For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled ; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of the knowledge of the Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule ".[22]

[20] GAUTAMA, *Institute of the Sacred Law,* 12-14 (S.B.E., vol. II, Part I, p. 236).

[21] J. W McCRINDLE, *Megasthenes.*

[22] MANU, *Laws,* II, 66 ; Yagnavalkya, I, 13 ; See position and education of women in H.C., vol. II, p. 558 ff ; S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Religion and Society,* 2nd ed., pp. 139-198, Allen and Unwin, 1948. PADMINI SENGUPTA, *Everyday Life in Ancient India,* pp. 147-162, O.U.P., Bombay, 1955, and pertinent Sanskrit and Pali texts in the books on *Ancient Indian Education* by R. K. MOOKERJI, S. K. DAS, F. E. KEAY and A. S. ALTEKAR. On education of women in antiquity in the Graeco-Roman world; see THOMAS WOODY, *Life and education in early societies,* op. cit. and CHARLES SELTMAN, *Women in antiquity,* Pan books, London, 1956.

The Brahmin woman had no cause to envy her female contemporaries in Sparta or Athens, for they too were considered hopelessly inferior.

The third and most significant of the century's stream of educational tradition was the one which may be designated the ascetic or Sramana tradition. The repeated insistence in the Pali canonical works on the distinction between "Brahmanas" and "Samanas" as well as the distinction in Megasthenes between "brachmanai" and "samanai" point to two ancient and parallel institutions. One was a priesthood by birth, with the sacrifice as the source of spiritual power and universal efficacy; the other was eremitic renunciation துறவு by choice with *tapas* or mortification as the means of self-conquest and soteriological release, or as the means of attaining of magical and superhuman power. It seems probable that the ascetic tradition originated and developed outside the Brahminic circles, and that later, Brahminism, with its characteristic resilience and capacity for compromise and accommodation included it as one of the asramas. [23]

The Brahmana and the Sramana schools developed in two separate geographical areas, the former in the region north of modern Delhi known as "Kurupancala" and the latter in the north-eastern districts, particularly in the kingdom of Videha, Magadha and Kosala. In the Kurupancala area the Brahmin class was supreme and hence that district remained the "holy land" of the Brahmins and the home of orthodoxy, the transgression of the geographical boundaries of which might require, on the part of the Brahmins, a purification ceremony. In the north-

[23] H.C., vol. I, p. 493 f: "The oldest Upanishads speak of these asramas only as three types or branches of life, but not as successive stages. It is only in the late Upanishads, the Great Epic, and the Dharmasastras, that the theory of successive stages of life is formulated and is developed further by an addition of a fourth stage, that of the Sannyasin who gives up even sacrifice, in fact all good works and as an ascetic, renounces the world to meditate on the Absolute (Brahman) with a view to realize it or achieve union with it."

[23] T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, op. cit, pp. 138-9; D.B., vol. I, pp. 212-219.

eastern regions the Kshatriya classes dominated and the Brahmins were subordinate to them, since there appears to have held sway a greater influence of non-Aryan traditions and non-Aryan beliefs. This influence might well explain the popularity of asceticism and the origin of the heterodox sects in the eastern sector. [24] The ethnic composition in these eastern kingdoms involved as it was with differences of worship seems to have laid the foundation for the regional differences in ideologies. Beriedale-Keith says :—

> " Much more still beyond the pale were the people of Magadha, which serves with Anga in the Atharvaveda as a symbol of a distant land. The man of Magadha is dedicated, in the account of the symbolic human sacrifice given in the Yajurveda, to ' loud noise ', suggesting that the Magadha country must have been the seat of minstrelsy, an idea supported by the fact that in later literature a man of Magadha is the designation of a minstrel. If, as has been suggested, the Kikatas of the Rigveda were really located in Magadha, the dislike of the country goes back to the Rigveda itself. The cause must probably have been the imperfect Brahmanisation of the land and the predominance of aboriginal blood, which later in history rendered Magadha the headquarters of Buddhism. It is significant that the Buddhist texts show a subordination of the Brahman to the Kshatriya class which has no parallel in orthodox literature. It is clear however that Brahmans sometimes lived there, but that their doing so was a ground for surprise."[25]

T. W. Rhys-Davids commenting on the racial and colour composition of the Kshatriyas of these kingdoms in the pre-Buddhist period says :—

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24 EDWARD J. THOMAS, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, p. 13 ff—Note on the Geography of Early Buddhism ; Kegan Paul, London, 1931; B. C. LAW, *The Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932 ; NALINAKSHA DUTT, *History of Early Buddhist Monasticism*, vol. I, pp. 135 ff, Calcutta, 1941.

25 C.H., I, p. 123 ; Cf. MANU, *Laws*, II, 17-20 : "From a Brahmana born in that country (Brahmavarthy) let all men on earth learn their several usages."

"The three upper classes had originally been one; for the nobles and priests were merely those members of the third class, the Vessas, who had raised themselves into a higher social rank. And though more difficult probably than it had been, it was still possible for analogous changes to take place. Poor men could become nobles, and both could become brahmins. We have numerous instances in the books, some of them unconsciously preserved even in the later priestly books which are otherwise under the spell of the caste theory. And though each case is then referred to as if it were exceptional, the fact no less remains that the line between the "Colours" was not yet strictly drawn. The members of the higher Colours were not even all of them white. Some, no doubt, of the Kshatriyas were descended from the chiefs and nobles of the Dravidian and Kolarian tribes who had preserved, by conquest or by treaty, their independence or their social rank. And others of the same tribes were, from time to time, acquiring political importance, and with it an entry into a higher social grade."[26]

And Heinrich Zimmer says :—

"Jainism denies the authority of the Vedas and the orthodox traditions of Hinduism. Therefore it is reckoned as a heterodox Indian religion. It does not derive from Brahman-Aryan sources, but reflects the cosmology and anthropology of a much older, pre-Aryan upper class of north-eastern India—being rooted in the same subsoil of archaic metaphysical speculation as Yoga, Sankhya, and Buddhism, the other non-Vedic Indian systems. The Aryan invasion, which overwhelmed the north-western and north central provinces of the sub-continent in the second millennium B.C., did not extend the full weight of its impact beyond the middle of the Ganges

26 T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, op. cit, pp. 34-35 ; VINCENT A. SMITH, *Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919, pp. 47-48 repeats the theory that Gautama Buddha was of non-Aryan origin. B. C. LAW, *Some Kshatriyas Tribes of Ancient India*, Thacker, Calcutta, 1924, p. 24 f, states the view that he was an Aryan Kshatriya : ID, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 297, Poona, 1943. R. C. MAJUMDAR, H.C., vol. II, p. 363 says: "The Sakya clan had probably a Mongolian strain in their blood."

valley; the pre-Aryan nobility of the north-eastern states, therefore, were not all swept off their thrones. Many of the families survived, and when the dynasties of the invading race began to show symptoms of exhaustion, the scions of these earlier native lines were able to assert themselves again.

" Candragupta Maurya, for example, stemmed from a family of this kind. So did the Buddha."[27]

Varying other traditions confirm the existence of a two-fold source of asceticism and scholasticism, one Brahmin and another non-Brahmin. For example, Markhali Gosala is said to be the third of a line of pontiffs. Parcava, the forerunner of Mahavira, is believed to have lived two hundred years earlier than Mahavira himself, and Ravana, the symbol of Dravidian resistance, is credited in Sanskrit literature as possessing super-human powers obtained by ascetic practices. Hence it may not be entirely groundless to suggest that the tradition of 24 tirthankaras preceding Mahavira and 23 buddhas preceding Gautama may point to an ancient unbroken tradition of non-Brahmin scholasticism and asceticism.[28]

(To be continued)

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27 HEINRICH ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India*, op. cit.
28 *Ibid.*

Religious landmarks in Pudukkottai,*

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY

LEOP BAZOU, *S.J.*

To most people the Pudukkottai region, south of the Cauvery, is but a small barren, an uninteresting and out-of-the-way territory, with no attraction for the casual visitor. But to him who loves the past and has an understanding eye for cultural relics, Pudukkottai soon discloses her rich inheritance. There are, for instance, numerous and extensive megalithic burial sites, although most of them are in secluded spots away in the jungle or the wilderness. There are also many natural caves which were once inhabited by the people who erected the dolmens and later by the Jain monks who were attracted to this region by their very inaccessibility which was ideal for prayer and meditation. But to find out such dwellings requires both patience and exertion.

There are carved Jain caves scooped out of the many rockhills which mark the landscape. One of them enshrines the only ancient fresco painting known in Tamil Nad. At Enadi, a now almost depopulated hamlet between Tiru Kalambur and Ponnamaravati, there is an eleventh century masterpiece, a small shrine all in stone that is an artistic beauty. Who visits now-a-days Kudimiyamalai where former Rajahs were anointed ? How many are

* This study is the result of several tours made by the contributor in Pudukkottai in June, July and August 1953. He wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the learned *Manual of the Pudukkottai State* by K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar (3 vols., 1938, 1940 & 1944) and to W. C. M. Claasen of Dindigul, without whose kind help, deep understanding and pleasant companionship the study would not have been possible.

aware that at the zenith of the Pallava period Kudumiyamalai had attained such a cultural importance as to be considered the right place to place on permanent record a complete treatise on the 'Fundamental Principles of Music' for both the seven — and eight-stringed veena? The inscription, thirteen centuries old, still looks fresh in its archaic characters engraved upon the rock, just below the almost inaccessible cave where Jain monks prayed and sang.

The Primitive Tribes

The many unassuming shrines to the Village *Amman* and her faithful companion, the *Aiyanar,* which are found in every village and hamlet, are worth a study by themselves. Decaying or renovated temples may be of interest to the student of the past, but why it may be asked bring into the picture these small and shockingly unartistic pagodas erected to the 'Mother', and the unseemly mounds of broken or crumbling earthenware which seem to be part and parcel of every shrine to the Aiyanar? Why indeed, except for the simple reason that they *are* very much in the picture. While many beautiful structures of Brahmanic Hinduism were allowed to fall into disuse and ruins, rustic shrines to the Village Mother and the Aiyanar are still being erected, for these deities are even now worshipped by the bulk of the village population; here lies their interest for the student of religion. They belong to an archaic but living faith, that has withstood the impact of successive faiths, many of them inspired by the Aryanized North Buddhism, Jainism, Adi-Saivism and, last of all, Brahmanical Hinduism. However deep may be the imprint such religious forms left upon the country, however rich in works of art their religious edifices, they could not, as we shall see, obliterate the primeval tribal faith that survives them all.

In a comparatively small area, which is about half of the size of the neighbouring Madurai district, Pudukkottai provides the richest ground in south Tamil Nad, for the

study of primitive Dravidian culture and religion ; it possesses more historical remnants than any other comparable area south of the Cauvery.

Even a bird's eye view will show how the cults of the Village Mother and of the Aiyanar, both inextricably connected, are unmistakable survivals of the ancestral fertility rites, typical of archaic agriculturist communities, of which the abundant dolmens and neolithic burial sites stand as so many pre-historic memorials. The present-day villagers still honour their ancestors, real or mythical, as Village *Ammans* and *Pattavars*, even as the megalithic and neolithic man did. It is not, therefore, fortuituous that the Amman and Aiyanar shrines are closely connected with these ancient burial sites, and that even the later religious forms, which could not supplant them in spite of centuries of State patronage, established themselves near these very spots of primeval worship. Religious forms may come and go but the ' sacred spot ' survives.[1]

Exploring this area patiently, the student of religion will soon realize that he is treading upon hallowed ground, the very places in which the ancestors of the most primitive groups in the country, the Valaiyars, the Kurumbars, the Vaduvars, now part of the so-called ' exterior castes ' of Hindu society and, may be, the Kallars and Maravars, buried and worshipped their dead. Since pre-historic days this primitive cult has ever flourished amongst them so much so that when, in those fateful years of the eighteenth century which followed the disappearance of the Madura Naick power, Brahmanic Hinduism showed signs of decline, the cult of the ancestors personified in the Village Mother, the Aiyanar, and the Pattavars, staged a striking revival amongst these groups.

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1 Students interested in Archaic Religions will find useful information in MIRCEA ELIADE, *Traite d'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, 1949, and G. VAN DER LEEUW, *La Religion dans son Essence et ses Manifestations*, Paris, 1948. They are indispensable if one wants to understand archaic religious concepts, forms and symbols.

Megalithic and Neolithic Culture

The late P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, remarked that 'the miles and miles of... burial sites, generally near water-courses', make of the Pudukkottai country 'the best district for the study of the burial customs of the Neolithic Man'.[2] No less than eighty different burial places have been discovered, and some localities contain several sites. Considering that not a few sites may have disappeared in the course of some two thousand to two thousand and five hundred years and that some of the surviving burial sites cover several acres of land in tank areas, water-spreads and porambokes or grazing-grounds, we can have an idea how deeply engrained in the mind of the pre-historic man was his respect towards the dead. It may not be without significance that the ancient Kurumbar people are still inhabiting villages connected with pre-historic burial sites ; these are often situated at the foot of the very hills in which natural caves show traces of ancient inhabitation, such as Sittannavasal, Narthamalai, Tenimalai, Sevalimalai, Kudumiyamalai, Sembudi, Ammanchattram, Malaiyadipatti, etc.

The burial sites of Pudukkottai offer the usual variety, burials in tombs or graves, chamber-burials and urn-burials, each mound covering a grave surrounded by a circle of stones or barrows. Dolmens found within these stone circles are stone-cells, the *kallarai*, 'stone-chamber' which word has survived in the Tamil language as the name for a tomb. A complete skeleton found in a tomb of the Pulvayal forest showed the body in a seated position, holding a sword in the right hand, while the left hand rested on the thigh. This characteristic posture survives in the sitting position even now given to the dead in their graves. The half seated images of the Karuppan form of the Aiyanar (one finds them everywhere in stone or baked clay) show him holding a curved sword in his right hand while the left rests upon the outer curved part of the

[2] P. T. SRINIVASA AIYENGAR, *The Stone Age in India*, Madras, 1926, pp. 41-61.

valadi or *valaittadi,* a South Indian boomerang still used by the Valaiyars, the Kallars and the Maravars in hunting small game. Valadis and other weapons, including iron spears and swords, are also found in tombs with their points downwards.

The iron-spear or spike, the *Vel,* emblem of Murugan and the Aiyanar, was a symbol of authority as well as the weapon of the ancient chieftains in Tamilagam, from which they took the title of *Vel* or *Velir,* Village Elder, Chief of armed troups, and Priest. Owing to the very fact that it was a weapon made of iron, the Vel was bound to become not only the symbol of authority, religious as well as secular, but also of fertility and perenniality. It is not mere chance, therefore, that the stone circles that surround burial mounds are laterite boulders, often brought from some other part of the country. The tradition has survived ; smaller shrines to the Mother, the Aiyanar, the 'Seven Virgins' and the Nagas found in Brahmanical temples are built in laterite stones, even where such shrines stand within enclosures of granite material.[3] Why this manifest preference for laterite ?

Laterite contains iron, the very metal the people who built the dolmen had discovered and soon learnt to put to good use both as a tool and as a weapon. Iron proved harder and more durable than bronze, and was therefore considered suitable for use as a religious symbol. Sacredness, durability or perenniality are the concepts which inspired Megalithic Man in the honours he paid to the dead, indicating that he believed in a kind of survival beyond the grave. The cult of the dead, the worship of ancestors, the fertility rites which this worship entailed, are various manifestations of the same concept connected with the primordial belief among agriculturists that Mother-Earth is the repository of all life. Stones, rocks, iron, all hard

[3] In South Malabar pre-historic man often buried his dead in tombs cut out of laterite rock. (Cf. *Archaeological Department, Cochin State, Report,* 1947-48, p. 15).

natural elements which bespeak durability—water, alive with fish, that periodically brings back life to the fallow fields and provides a new harvest—tanks and rivers upon whose embankment the burial sites are usually to be found—Mother-Earth to whose womb all her children return to sleep, the sleep of nightly repose and of death—all these partook of the sacred as so many manifestations of fertility, of life and survival. Just as life perpetuates itself in nature through the cycle of recurring seasons, so it renovates itself, generation after generation, in the family and in the clan.

The concept of time among primitive people was somewhat different from ours. Their cycles, much shorter than our modern eras, were based upon quite different phenomena : the annual seasonal return of the rains after long dry months, the span of human life from one generation to the next, and that of some of the known and domesticated animals, such as the bull and the elephant, which renewed themselves periodically at shorter or longer intervals. There were also material objects that seemed to be endowed with this element of durability, if not perenniality, the ever-growing trees in the forest, Mother-Earth, rocks and stones and then iron. They all lasted beyond the longest known cycle, beyond the seasonal alternation of Spring, harvest and barren land, and much beyond the span of man's life.

There were things that appeared to endure almost for ever while others, after undergoing a process of apparent decay and death, came back to life. These experiences led man to conclude that death was not the end of everything but was just a suspense to be followed by a new lease of life. Fields in the dry plains might periodically lie barren, but there were also in the neighbouring hills perennial forests with giant-trees that seemed to endure for ever ; no one had known them when they were saplings. Life went on in spite of all appearances, hence the logical assumption that the dead too had not gone for ever. At

most they had retired to rest for a while, as man does every night; hence the Tamil name of பள்ளி Pal: l: i, ‘chamber, sleeping couch, temple as well as for funeral rites’.

This means much more, indeed, than would appear at first sight, for the memory of primitive peoples is the collective memory that survives in the family and the clan. The respect and honour paid to the dead and their tombs kept both living and dead in close relationship, the departed members of the clan remaining part and parcel of it. Before the departed ancestors could be forgotten, they became supra-terrestrial beings—protective guardians of their surviving kith and kin. It was believed that they were reborn in due course in the new clan's offsprings.

This belief perhaps accounts for the Tamilian custom of giving to a child the name of its grandparent பேரன் pe: ran, the Tamil equivalent of grandson, means one who bears the same name. It is this ancestral custom of honouring the dead that must have gradually led the primitive Dravidian clans to give the rank of *ishta devata*, favoured deity, to their ancestors and protective spirits, as personified in the Village Mother, the Aiyanar, the Seven Virgins or Mothers, and the Pattavars or ancestors of either sex. The custom is still prevalent in villages.

Among the ploughed fields one may find the *Samādhi* or tomb of a local headman. Outwardly it looks as insignificant as the hut used by the watchman who guards the crop. Inside its narrow single chamber, no name, no memorial, no inscription is to be found to perpetuate the village worthy's memory, apart from a simple *Lingam* upon its *Yōni* pedestal over the grave. Here the whole traditional Dravidian cult of the dead is aptly summarized in its simplest and most telling expression, the symbol of creative energy over a grave; it emphasizes the fact that life perpetuates itself. Death is not the last word; life goes on and on.

This belief in the survival of the dead explains why all the familiar implements that belonged to the departed were placed in his grave, along with eatables, and seeds, such as grains of rice, the staple food that nourishes and the seeds that sprout into new life, the very symbol of a future harvest. Much has been written about the deep-rooted dread, among Hindus of all classes, as regards death and whatever connected with it, cemeteries being held as the supreme place of ill-omen. And yet, Sivā and Kāli in Hinduism and Sudalai Madan in village worship are all three supposed to haunt cemeteries. No one who has witnessed a family gathering around a tomb on the occasion of the annual ceremony for the dead can have any doubt however as to which is the dominant sentiment—dread or confidence. It looks more like an intimate family feast, in which special dainties are distributed and shared among the living in honour of the departed. And yet the orthodox will go on telling us that whatever is connected with the dead spells pollution ; but we are dealing here not with orthodox Hinduism but with ancestral Dravidian rites and in this lies the difference.

The Jains

Next in importance are the lithic records in the Asoka-Brahmi script of the ancient Tamil language,[4] found in the natural caves of The Sittannavasal Hills. If these may be taken as genuine, we can trace back the settlement of Jain monks in the Pudukkottai region to the 3rd or at least the 2nd century B.C. Similar inscriptions found in caves of the Madurai and Tinnevelly districts would support their genuineness. More recent inscriptions (7th-9th centuries A.D.) in archaic Tamil, at Sittannavasal, testify to a long occupation of this cave by Jain monks. Natural caves in which the Jains have left such traces of their occupation are not rare in Pudukkottai. We find them at Sembudi in

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[4] Dr. K. K. Pillai has pointed out that these inscriptions are in a hybrid language containing Tamil as well as Prakrit words, *vide* Tamil Culture. vol. V, No. 2, April 1956, p. 178—(Ed.)

the Tirumayam taluk, at Kadugumalai or the Hill of the caves in Narthamalai, at Tenimalai north of Ponnamaravati, at Sevalimalai in the same range and at Kudumiyamalai.

To these natural caves the Jains added, in course of time, rock-cut cells or shrines. Some of these caves, which are better-known under the collective name of 'Pallava Caves' and have been attributed to Hindu craftsmen, were actually the work of the Jains themselves. Such is, for instance, that of Melamalai above the village of Narthamalai. In the 13th century when Jainism was showing signs of decline, it was taken over by Hinduism and the present twelve Vaishnava figures were then added. The new masters had very little alterations to make, for Vaishnaism took most of its symbols straightaway from the Jain or the Buddhist concept and forms. One wonders, indeed, how many Pallava Caves now credited to Brahmanical Hinduism had been thus inherited from the Jains. When Hindu temples were enlarged, pillars and other ready-made materials would be taken from former Jain edifices. Thus the Amman and Siva shrines at Tennangudi were built with stones removed from shrines and monasteries which had been built and endowed by the powerful merchants' guild of the 'Five Hundred'; many more temple builders followed their example. Although Jainism had lost its former vitality by the end of the Chola period, its institutions survived some time longer. The Pandyas of Madurai (1100 to 1350 A.D.) continued to endow benefactions in their favour ; when grants were made to Brahmanical temples or foundations, it was carefully stipulated that previous grants made in favour of the Jains were to be respected. This gives a hint that peace between the two faiths was being threatened, but it also goes to show too that Jainism in Pudukkottai survived by several centuries the general onslaught launched by the Saiva Hymnist Gnāna Sambhandar (middle 7th century A.D.).

The prolonged hospitality given by Pudukkottai to the Jains—roughly some fourteen centuries—is evidenced

everywhere by Jain remnants, in the form of rock-cut beds, prayer-seats, or drip-lines in natural caves, shrines carved out of rock, statuaries and fresco-paintings, which are clearly not secular. The carvings or sculptures of holy men, seated or standing, fully naked ('airclad' as the expression goes), show them in an attitude of prayer, deep concentration, or at least of peaceful repose.

Such Jain works are not rare in the rest of Tamil Nād but Pudukkottai has preserved for us, at Sittannavasal, an important relic of a lost art, the fresco paintings which are unique in the Tamil districts. Their artistic value and their deeply religious implications of genuine Dravidian culture are such as to arrest the attention of any student of the religious history of the country. The only remnants of fresco paintings, which must have once covered most of the walls of this shrine but are now irreparably damaged, are the carpet-like paintings on the ceiling and the four figures on the pillars of the verandah.

At first sight, the carpet-like fresco represents a common though most artistic aquatic scene, a pool of lotus-flowers but it is in fact a highly inspired study in the purest Indian tradition. The lotus flower was and has remained the accepted symbol of fertility and of Saktic Energy. Even in modern Tantrism of the Bengal School, the Lotus represents the 'Mother'. The fact that the pool contains but living beings connected with the same symbolic element goes to emphasize still more the emblematic value of the lotus: water, a traditional element of fertility, teeming with life, fishes that display themselves here and there among the lotuses, aquatic birds that feed in the water, the three young men, the elephants, the bull and the lion. All these belong to the same concept. The birds are mostly seen in pairs, male and female cackling together, as merry as in the Spring and the mating-season. The three youths have a serene countenance and their candid open faces, without yet the dawn of puberty, express in their quiet joy the peace and contentment of the morning of life, when

everything is fresh and pure—and temptations are yet to come—in a world which is characteristically otherworldly and conducive to contemplation. The presence of the elephants and bulls, examples of strength and energy—the strongest and largest types of vital energy familiar to men—and that of a lion, the king of animals (which is moreover a typical Jain symbol) give the scene its full significance. This Franciscan-like candidness and peace of the Jain was not built upon sentimentalism but upon self-detachment which calls for great tenacity of purpose.

The master artist knew how to avail himself of the soft tints his rich palette provided ; he also had a keen eye for contours and graceful poise. Finely displayed, the colours of the fresco are fresh and vivid, though the whole piece is now fast deteriorating. Even though they are, as was to be expected of a Jain artist, characteristically discreet in their varied soft hues, they combine to enhance the quiet joy of this Spring-scene,—the peaceful and refreshing waters, the abundant flowers, the graceful ease of the moving animals, and the serenity of the three youths who evince no self-consciousness of their complete nudity.

Paintings which adorned the inner sanctuary have almost completely faded away. There are two dancing girls and a royal couple on both the pillars of the outer verandah. The prince shows the typical features of Mahendravarman I, the magnificent royal patron of the Arts in this classical Pallava age. He and his consort stand here in the attitude of repose, not unlike the 'donor' and his wife in a religious painting of the later Medieval Flemish school. The 'exquisite Apsaras, celestial dancers'[5], also radiate peace and repose with their arms curved in graceful movements and with their commanding poise, full though it be of rhythm and motion. With its 'charms and half-tones and the light and shades', the Sittannavasal versatility of designs.....the gradation in colouring, the

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5 KARL KHANDALAVAL, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 55.

fresco appears to Jouveau-Dubreuil, the French scholar who discovered them in 1920, as 'a scene from the religious history of the Jains'.[6] 'A scene from the Jain heaven', remarks Karl Khandalavala.[7]

The Sittannavasal fresco recalls to mind those of the famous Ajanta. 'The line has all the rhythm, fluency and definitiveness of that of Ajanta', and they 'undoubtedly belong to that age when the art of fresco painting in India was at its zenith',[8] to quote again Khandalavala. But the Sittannavasal artist has happily followed his own creative imagination ; thus he has avoided the exaggerated forms of his better known contemporaries, such as the wasplike feminine waistline and the typically sensuous rather than religious attitudes of Ajanta as well as of Sigiriya (Ceylon).

It has been said that the Jains had 'an eye for the picturesque'.[9] The natural caves they first occupied and those they later carved out of the rock are usually to be found in the upper slopes of rockhills, as eagle-nests would be. They command a large landscape ; from there the eye rests on nothing that is not peace-inspiring in the vast panorama of nature with its rocks and forests, its combs and dales, its water tanks and fields. As seen from such an altitude and distance, everything looks, in the subdued light and colours, like a dreamland, as it might well appear through the half-closed eyes of a contemplative Jain recluse who lived there and prayed.

(*To be continued*)

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6 NANALAL CHAMANLAL MEHTA, *Studies in Indian Paintings*, Bombay, 1926, p. 11.

7 KHANDALAVAL, p. 55.

8 KHANDALAVAL, p. 55.

9 *Madura Gazetteer*, p. 256.

The Problem of the Life and Age of Kamban

A. C. PAUL NADAR

Kamban is the greatest poet in Tamil language. His supreme mastery of language and metre, his simplicity of style and profundity of thought, his wonderful portrait of men and women, his powers of dramatisation and his sense of humour, his knowledge of the deep past, and prophetic vision of the future and his grasp of the fundamental problems of life make his *Ramayana* unique in Tamil literature. It is a creative work of art, comparable to the very best epic poem produced in any age or under any clime. Its study from the point of view of the age is calculated to elucidate several problems connected with the historical development of the culture of the Tamils. For it is obvious that it reflects the hopes and fears, the aspirations and ideals of a particular epoch in the history of the Tamils. But the problem of his age and life remains unsettled among historians, literary scholars and research workers. There is such a vast difference in the periods assigned by the various schools of thought among them that the question of the development of age, language and literature, art and science, religion and philosophy, politics and economics, caste and society and a host of questions of similar nature await determination. Some think that Kamban belonged to the 9th century of the Christian era ; others take him to the last quarter of the 12th century. There are a few others who assign to him various dates between the two. The difference thus ranges over a period of three centuries.

The theory of the 9th century was championed by the late V. V. S. Iyer (vide his introduction to Balakandam

1917). This view was shared by such various schools as 1. Sunnakam Kumarasamy Pillai (vide his Balakandam 1918). 2. Illakkana Paramparai Somasundaradesikar (Karanthai Silver Jubilee Essays, 1938). 3. T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar (vide *Kamban Tharum Ramayanam* 1953). 4. V. P. Subramania Mudaliar (*Kamba Ramayana Saram*).

The late Dr. S. Krishnasami Iyengar placed him in the middle of the 12th century. The editors of the Annamalai University Silver Jubilee Publication of six padalams of *Sundara Kandam* (1955) suggest 978 A.D., as the date of composition of *Kamba Ramayana* and emphatically reject the 9th as well as the 12th century. The theory of the 12th century was first suggested by the late Maha Vidwan R. Raghava Iyengar about 50 years ago (vide *Sentamil*—Vol. 3). In recent years it was championed by Professor S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, whose two books—*Tamil Chudar Manigal*—1952, 2nd edition, and *Kamban Kavyam*, 1955 fairly summarise the arguments advanced by the late R. Raghava Iyengar in addition to his own.

The task of fixing the correct date is not an easy one. It is full of difficulties. No direct or contemporary evidence is available. There is a paucity of historical works. We do not know with certainty the time and place of origin of many books of literature. There is a mass of traditional accounts, which have gathered around Kamban and his patron Sadayan down the centuries. They contradict one another ; though some of the stanzas connected with traditional accounts profess to be Kamban's own or those of his contemporaries, they are of doubtful historical value. The circumstantial evidence is neither full nor adequate to warrant any definite and certain conclusion. Our forefathers had neither an historic sense nor an excessive anxiety to preserve things as they were in their pristine form. As a result of these defects, we have not the original text of Kamban's poem with us, but only copies made less than 400 years ago. Even these copies are admittedly full

of interpolations, additions and omissions. The earliest copy available is alleged to have been prepared in about 1578 A.D., that is to say, about 400 years after the latest and 700 years after the earliest date assigned to the poet. And no one knows from which source that copy was made. We have now about 30 to 40 manuscripts written on palmyra leaves. The readings vary from one manuscript to another, though the general frame work is substantially kept intact. So we have to take the 16th century text with all its faults and infirmities as a basis for our investigation. As interpolations and additions have been made from time to time to suit the ideas and tastes of later ages, the question of fixing the age becomes extremely complicated. Indeed the whole thing works in a vicious circle. We want a correct text to fix the age, and the text can be corrected and restored to its pristine purity only in the light of the knowledge of the times which necessitated the interpolations, additions and omissions.

In recent years, several attempts have been made to get at the original text. T. K. C.'s monumental work makes an attempt to restore the original from the point of view of poetics and aesthetics alone. This leaves a large gap in the narration of the story of the poem. S. Murugappa in his short-study of *Kambar Kaviyam* (1953) deals with the question of interpolation and additions from a common sense point of view. It is interesting to note how much he agrees in the matter of interpolations and additions with T. K. C. For example, many stanzas in Pookoi Padalam, Punal Vilayattupadalam, Undatta Padalam in Bala Kandam are found to be interpolations by both. They are certainly incongruous in the light of what appears to be the Poet's great basic principles, such as his condemnation of laxity in sexual relationship and abhorrence of intoxicating drinks. A mere comparison of the manuscripts does not yield fruitful data, necessary for fixing the age of Kamban, as all the available manuscripts are less than 400 years old. It is however, interesting to note that Prof. S. Vaiyapuri

Pillai rejects as an interpolation the story of Viswamitra (83-138 in Mithilai Katchi) on the strength of omission in one manuscript which he considers very old (vide: *Kamban Kaviyam*, pp. 43 & 44). T. K. C. rejects the same on poetical grounds (vide: T. K. C.'s *Ramayanam*, Introductory P. XIV). The purification of the text is a task beyond the capacity and competency of any single individual. It calls for the exercise of different qualities and talents not commonly found in any single individual. Discriminating poetic perception, a sound and intimate knowledge of the literature of the relevant period in all its aspects and patient industry must be brought to bear upon the study of the knotty problem before anything like a satisfactory solution can be found.

We have, therefore, to grope in the dark in our investigation with a debased text, and with the mass of contradictory traditional accounts. Far more than these is our imperfect knowledge of the historic background. In spite of the vast historical materials now available after a patient research for nearly a century, no historian of genius has arisen to use these materials with the insight of a seer, the vision of an artist and the accuracy of a scientist. Till now specialisation has gone so far that research scholars, who know epigraphy well, are deficient in their knowledge of literature and *vice versa.* We have before us the curious phenomenon of a learned historian of the Cholas who was so sure some years ago that Kamban was patronised by Vikrama Chola (1118-1135) and was even lavishly rewarded by him with the title Kavichakravarthy (Emperor of Poets) and a fief called Kumba nadu, holding now the view that he belonged to the age of Kulottungan III (1178-1216). One is left wondering whether he has any adequate reason for the change over and whether the period of more than half a century in the history of Cholas does not make any difference whatsoever in what he calls " the colour of the time." (vide page 672 in *The Cholas* by K. A. N. Sastry 2nd edition, 1953). The learned professor admittedly

follows the conclusion of the late Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai.

The late Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai has expounded his theory of the 12th century in his two books (*Tamil Chudar Manigal* 2nd edition, 1952 and *Kamban Kavyam,* 1955). He asserts that the world of scholars accepted the last quarter of the 12th century as settled—vide page 145, *Kamban Kavyam.* The reasons assigned by him for his conclusion are:—

(*a*) Tyaga Vinodam is referred to in the stanza No. 58 of Maruthumalai padalam and is the exclusive title of Kulothunga Chola III. Hence Kamban must have lived in his reign. (*Kamban Kavyam*—page 149).

(*b*) The stray stanza (Thanian) beginning with "ஆவின் கொடை சகரர்" supports the view that Kamban finished his poem in Saka year 1100 corresponding to 1178 A.D. (*Kamban Kavyam*—page 150).

(*c*) The stray stanza (Thanian) beginning with "எண்ணிய சகாப்தம் எண்ணூற்று ஏழில்" shows that arangetram (publication) of *Kamban Ramayanam* was in Saka year 1107 corresponding to 1185 A.D. (*Tamil Chudar Manigal*—page 131).

(*d*) Another stray stanza attributed to Kamban according to *Tamil navalar Sarithai* is said to be addressed to the king Pratapa Rudra of Warangal 1162-1197 (*Tamil Chudar Manigal*—page 121).

(*e*) According to the stray stanza attributed to Kamban in *Cholamandala Sathakam,* Sadayan the acknowledged patron of Kamban was the same as Puduvai Sadayan. This Puduvai Sadayan was the son of Sankaran, the early patron

of Ottakoothan. So Kamban was the junior contemporary of Ottakoothan who sang ulas about the three Cholas who ruled for fifty-four years (1178 to 1171) (vide pages 124-125 *Tamil Chudar Manigal*).

(*f*) According to tradition Ottakoothan, the Kavichakravarthi of the Chola Court, jealously guarded his position and influence and kept down young aspirants including Kamban (vide page 151 *Kamban Kavyam*).

(*g*) Kamban did not find favour with the Chola King (Kulothunga III) for he was a Vaishnavite and Saivaism was the state religion. And those were not the days of toleration (page 151, *Kamban Kavyam*).

(*h*) Kamban was neglected by the literary circles, as he did not follow the poetic tradition of his days. The poets of his age looked down upon this as heresy and taunted him with his low birth (page 151, *Kamban Kavyam*).

(*i*) In spite of the opposition of the royal court and literary circles, his genius was recognised by the common people who immediately awarded the title of Kavichakravarthi. His fame was an established fact as soon as his great Kavyam was published (page 152, *Kamban Kavyam*).

(*j*) Kamban lived at the time when Tamilnad attained the zenith of its prosperity (pages 131 & 132 *Chudarmanigal*).

We will now examine his reasons in the order set forth above :

(*a*) The sheet anchor of his thesis is the reference to Thyaga Vinodhan in Maruthumalai Padalam in stanza No. 58. He says that a certain town named " thiraimoor "

during Vikrama Chola's reign was some decades later renamed *Tygavinodha Arrur* and that this change took place during the reign of Kulothunga III. Therefore he thinks that this shows clearly that Thyaga Vinodhan was none other than the Kulothunga III himself and that following the king some of his officers added this title to their names. He quotes for instance "Thyga Vinodha Muvendavelan" (MER No. 28 of 1927) and "Thyga Vinodha Bhattan" (MER No. 169 of 1927) vide *Kamban Kavyam*, page 149.

(1) The identification of Thyaga Vinodhan with Kulothunga III is based on an inference from the changes of names as Thyaga Vinodhan Arrur, referred to in two mutilated inscriptions reported in *Senthamil*, Vol. I half a century ago, but not yet copied by the Government Epigraphists. As a matter of fact historians took no notice of that until Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai explained it in recent years. There is however no evidence that Kulothunga III even used this title of Thyga Vinodhan in any one of his innumerable inscriptions. He used as many as nine titles and this is not one of them (vide Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas*, Part II, page 168, and Krishna Sastri's comment in G.O. No. 665 dated 28—7—1910).

The stanza No. 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* runs as follows :—

வன்னி நாட்டிய பொன் மௌலிவானவன் மலரின் மேலான்
கன்னிநாள் திருவைச்சேர்ந்த கண்ணனும் ஆளுங் காணி
சென்னிநாள் தெரியல் வீரன் தியாக விநோதன் தெய்வப்
பொன்னிநாட்டு வமைவைப்பைப்புலன்கொள நோக்கிப் போனன்.

(2) We have ample evidence that the name Thyaga Vinodhan was in use long before and after the time of Kulothunga III. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai's citation of the reference to Thyaga Vinodhan in MER No. 169 of 1927, relates to an inscription recording the gift of a lamp to the temple of Athitheswaran at Perunkalandai of Pollachi taluk in Coimbatore district in the third year of the Kongu Chola

ruler Vikrama (1004-1041 A.D.). As a matter of fact it is the year 1007, that is to say, about 200 years before Kulothunga III. There are two officers of Vikrama Chola bearing the name of Thyaga Vinodhan Thalaikoli (பதியிலார் தியாக விநோதத்தலைக்கோலி) and Thirumandiravolai Thyaga Vinodha Bramma Rayan (திருமந்திர வோலை தியாக விநோத பிரம்மராயன்) [For other references to Thyaga Vinodhan vide MER No. 260 of 1920 for the time of Kongu Chola ruler Kulothunga III (1145-1183) and S.I.I. Vol. VIII No. 487 in 15th century during Vijayanagar times.]

(3) The reference to the Thyaga Vinodha Muvenda-velan in MER 28 of 1927 related to a chieftain who belonged to the region of Thiruvarur where Siva was and is worshipped as Thyagaraja Perumal. It is legitimate to infer that the name is one in imitation of the deity just as திருச்சிற்றம்பல மூவேந்த வேளாளன் and தில்லையம்பல மூவேந்த வேளாளன் used in those days. It is hardly necessary to add that the name Thyaga Vinodha Muvenda Velan cannot be called in aid to prove the king's title.

(4) The stanza No. 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* describes the ruler of the land of sacred Cauvery as Veeran Thyaga Vinodhan (வீரன் தியாக விநோதன்). The literary and epigraphic evidence of those times shows that the successive rulers of the land of Cauvery were all fond of the titles veeran and thyagi. The *Nandi Kalambakam* refers to its hero the Pallava King Nandhi Varman III as 'தியாகி என்னும் நந்தி' 'வீர நந்தி' 'காவிலிசூழ் திருநாடுடைய நந்தி'. *Vikrama Chola Ula* refers to Vikrama Chola (1135-1150 A.D.) as தியாக சமுத்திரம். Various inscriptions describe the first Rajadhiraja Chola (1042-1054 A.D.) as தியாகமே அணியாகக் கொண்டவன்; Veera Rajendran (1063-1070 A.D.) as வீரத்தனிக்கொடி தியாகக்கொடியோடு ஆண்டவன்; Adi Rajendra Cholan (1070 A.D.) as தியாகக்கொடியுடை யோன் and Kulothunga I (1078-1118) வீரமும் தியாகமும் விளங்க பார் மிசை ஆண்டவன் (vide Annamalai University Silver Jubilee Publication—*Sundara Kandam—Part I*—Introduction pages XI to XII). Hence

there is no point in asserting that because Kulothunga uses 'வீரக்கொடியுடன் தியாகக் கொடி எடுத்து' in his inscriptions Thyaga Vinodhan is the exclusive title of the ruler.

For the foregoing reasons the identification of Thyaga Vinodhan in stanza 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* with Kulothunga III is not tenable.

(*b*) The stray stanza referred to for the second argument reads as follows :—

ஆவின் கொடைச்சகர ராயிரத்து நூறொழித்துத்
தேவன் திருவழுந்தூர் நன்னாட்டு—மூவலூர்ச்
சீரார் குணதித்தன் சேயமையப் பாடினான்
காரார் காகுத்தன் கதை.

(1) The discoverer of this stanza Maha Vidwan R. Raghava Iyengar said, "சில ராமாயண ஏடுகளில் 'விடை கொடுத்த' படலத்தின் பின் சில அரிய செய்யுட்கள் வரையப்பட்டுள்ளன. அவற்றுள் இந்தச் செய்யுள் ஒன்றாகும்." (vide *Sentamil* Vol. III—page 53). This is literally copied with approval in 'தமிழ்ச் சுடர் மணிகள்' (vide pages 130-131) but in *Kamban Kavyam* he added "மிகப் பழைய ஏட்டுப் பிரதி யொன்றில் இந்தச் செய்யுள் காணப்படுகிறது." (vide page 86). He does not disclose the age of the manuscript in which it was found. One wonders whether it is earlier than the 16th century.

(2) There is no evidence as to who composed it and when. This is not one of the stanzas known to the traditional stories as embodied in 'தமிழ் நாவலர் சரிதை' and 'சோழ மண்டல சதகம்' which belonged to 17th and 18th centuries respectively, nor to Tamil Plutarch (1859) and 'புலவர் புராணம்' at the end of the 19th century.

(3) As for its interpretation both R. Raghava Iyengar and Vaiyapuri Pillai think that this means Saka Year 1100 corresponding to 1178 A.D., as the year of the com-

position of *Kamban Ramayanam.* But it is difficult to see how these learned men get over the expression ஆயிரத்து நூற்றொழித்து which would mean only a thousand years deducting a hundred years answering to 900 of Saka Era, corresponding to 978 A.D. This is exactly the interpretation put upon it by the learned editors of the 'Annamalai Silver Jubilee Publication—*Sundara Kandam* —1955.'

(4) It may be noted that in their stanza the name of Kamban is not at all mentioned but is simply described as the son of the great Gunadithan of Muvalur (மூவலூர்ச் சீரார் குணாதித்தன்). According to tradition there are as many as six different stories all pointing to the bastardy of the poet. It is difficult to see how these stories could have been invented if he was known to be the son of a great man.

(5) Further there is another 'Thanian' which makes the poet as the native of 'Therazhandur' describing him as "*சீரணி சோழநாட்டுத் திருவழுந்தூருவச்சன், காரணி கொடையான் கம்பன்றமிழினாற் கவிதை செய்தான்.* The proximity of Muvalur to Therazhandur does not solve the problem.

(6) There is the statement that the composition of Ramayana must have taken place in 1178 A.D. and that the alleged change of name of "Thiraimoor" as Thyaga Vinodha Arrur derives support from an inscription of the sixth year of Kulothunga. It is difficult to see how a poem finished in 1178 A.D. would refer to a title assumed by the ruler six years later, even if the assumption be true.

(c) Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai cites the 'Thanian' reading as follows :—

எண்ணிய சகாப்தம் எண்ணூற்றேழின் மேல் சடையன் வாழ்வு
நண்ணிய வெண்ணெய் நல்லூர் தன்னிலே கம்பநாடன்
பண்ணிய இராமகாதை பங்குனி அத்தநாளில்
கண்ணிய அரங்கர் முன்னே கவியரங்கேற்றினானே.

and interprets the Saka year as 107 reading "எண் நூற்று ஏழு" what others read as "எண்ணூற்றேழு" or eight hundred and seven Saka year. He accepts the ingenious explanation of R. Raghava Iyengar that in practice 1107 is mentioned as 107 leaving out the thousand. But the question is when such practice as that came into existence.

Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai is not consistent with reference to this stanza. On page 149 of his *Kamban Kavyam* he treats it as a fabrication of the 16th century. We will deal with many problems arising out of this stanza at a later stage.

(*d*) Reliance is placed on the evidence afforded by a verse from *Tamil Navalar Charithai* which reads as follows: —

அவனிமுழு துண்டும் அயிரா பதத்துன்
பவனி தொழுவார் படுத்தும்—புவனி
உருத்திரா உன்னுடைய ஓரங்கல் நாட்டில்
குருத்திரா வாழைக்குழாம்.

This verse is said to have been a composition of Kamban himself addressed to Prathapa Rudra of Warangal in North Telugu country (Pratapa Rudra—1162 A.D. to 1191 A.D.).

(1) The composition of *Tamil Navalar Charithai* is admittedly at the end of 17th century. It has collected about 28 stanzas attributed to Kamban and his contemporaries. If all the stanzas are genuine, historically they contradict one another. For example, the stanza addressed to Prathapa Rudra is assigned to the end of 12th century when Kulothunga III was ruling over the entire Tamil Nad at least nominally. But a stanza found in *Tamil Navalar Charithai* as a work of Kamban viz.,

காத மிருபத்து நான்கொழிய காசினியை
ஒதக் கடல்கொண்டொளித்ததோ—மாதவா
கொல்லிமலையுடைய கொற்றவா நீமுனிந்தால்
இல்லையோ வெங்கட் கிடம்.

(page 76 of *Tamil Navalar Charithai* published by Saiva Siddhantha Nool Padippu Kazhagam) shows that the Chola ruler mentioned above must have been a petty ruler. If it is so it must represent an earlier period than the 10th century when the Cholas built up an empire.

(2) The learned Professor seems to realise the absurdity of a Tamil poem being appreciated by a Telugu ruler in a far-off country and seeks to support his position by an allegation that Kamban himself shows a familiarity with the Telugu language by the use of such words as "மசரதம், நம்மி, இச்சு, அக்கட and "அந்து" in his *Ramayanam.* But several commentators consider most of these words as "திசைச் சொல்." It is clear one need not go to Telugu land to learn these words. When the Pallavas ruled over the land between the Krishna and Cauvery, there must have been an intermingling of Telugu and Tamil populations as we see today.

(3) The legend connected with this stanza is of a tell-tale character. It may be remembered that from the 16th century Telugu rule was established at Madurai, Tanjore and Gingee. It looks as though a Tamil poet invented the story as a sort of compensation for their degradation. The legend says that Kamban quarrelled with the Chola ruler and went in exile to Warangal and afterwards returned triumphantly to the Chola Court with the ruler of Warangal acting as his betel box carrier!

(4) Professor K. A. N. Sastry has dealt with this aspect of the matter and states as follows:—

"The story goes that Kamban commanded the rule of all the sovereigns of his time, including the Pandya and the Kakatyia Rudra and that the Chola Ruler jealous of his fame and anxious to get rid of his over-mighty subject plotted his murder and executed it in person. There is no means yet of deciding if this *puerile* account of the poet's end has any foundation—Italics is mine. (*Colas.* 1955 edition, page 672).

(*e*) Next is an attempt made to fix the age of Sadayan, the acknowledged patron of Kamban. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai strikes a note of caution that legends have gathered round the name of Sadayan as much as in the case of Kamban. These legends are embodied in *Tamil Navalar Charithai* and *Cholamandala Sathakam.* It is also natural that the proverbial poverty of the poets and panegyrics exaggerate the importance and the greatness of the man who patronized them. It is possible that in subsequent times when patrons were scarce the poets would look back with glamour for the past patrons. Hence apart from *Chola Mandala Chathakam* and *Tamil Navalar Charithai* there are other stanzas handed down the centuries. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai rejects some of them and utilises a few in support of his theory of the end of 12th century as the age of Kamban. We propose to examine the value of such materials as he relies on.

(1) *Kamba Ramayanam* gives the names of Kamban's patron as Sadayan and Sararaman. Another name Kannan is also found in some manuscripts. His place said to be Thiruvennainallur is identified now with a small hamlet on the banks of Cauvery as Kadirkamam, not far from Mayavaram. The poem itself does not give any indication of his status or his parentage or any other residence. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai relies on *Chola Mandala Chathakam* for another residence. The stanza reads as follows :—

மெய்கழுவி வந்து விருந்துண்டு மீளுபவர்
கைகழுவ நீர்போதுங் காவேரி—போய்கழுவும்
போர்வேற் சடையன் புதுவையா னில்லறத்தை
யார்போற்ற வல்லா ரறிந்து.

He infers from this that Sadayan was Puduvaiyan. It means a native of Puduvai. The learned Professor does not either identify the place with any present day village nor does he locate it in relation to Thiruvennainallur. He notes that the same stanza occurs in an inscription at

Muvalur. From that he asserts that the authenticity of the stanza cannot be questioned. Unfortunately the Muvalur inscription is not dated. Apparently he thinks that the stone record is more reliable than the cadjan record.

(2) As a matter of fact, the very same stanza occurs in *Tamil Navalar Charithai* also. The learned editor of *Tamil Navalar Charithai* points out that the Muvalur inscription was copied out in AR No. 29 of 1925 and Puduvai becomes Puduvaipuri in an inscription of Thirukkodikaval copied out in AR No. 58 of 1930-31. Professor K. A. N. Sastry in his Cholas talks of Sadayan alias Saraman whom he identifies with "Trigarta", mentioned in *Vikrama Chola Ula* and in the undated inscriptions from Muvalur and Thirukkodikaval in which he is also described as the "Cedirya" of the Ganga race. Professor Sastry identifies "Cedi" country with the hilly country round about Thirukkoilur and Killiyur in South Arcot District. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai relies on *Chola Mandala Sathakam* for describing Sadayan as "Vennai Trigartan". Now "Trigartan" means one who has fed the entire entourage of all the three crowned heads of Tamil Nad. viz., Chera, Chola and Pandya Rulers. One wonders when all these three rulers were the guests at Thiruvennainallur !

(3) *Vikrama Chola Ula* does not refer to the place of "Trigarta" of his times but only describes him as a conqueror of Kongu and Coorg. (vide *Vikrama Chola Ula* stanza No. 88). Now stanza No. 84 of the same *Ula* refers to the chieftain of Chedi as a conqueror of the land of Kannadas. It is clear that they are different personages altogether. Further from the days of *Purananooru* down to the days of the later Cholas, Chedirayas were Malayans (மலையமான்) (vide *Purananooru* No. 125 and Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas,* pages 65, 106 and 174). The trigarta referred to in *Vikrama Cholan Ula* is not identifiable with any of the known heroes of the times of Vikrama Chola (vide Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas,* II, page 88).

(4) Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai relies on another stray stanza quoted on page 156 of *Tamil Chudar Manigal* for the position that Sadayan's father was Sankaran of Puduvai in whose domestic service Ottakkoothan was alleged to have been employed in early life. That stanza refers to

"புதுவையம் பதிதங்கு புண்ணிய சேகரன் சங்கரன் தருசடையன்',

The learned professor does not say from which source he got this stanza though he boldly asserts that it is a contemporary poem in praise of Sadayan. He relies also on *Chola Mandala Sathakam* No. 93 for the statement :

"புதுவைச் சடையன் பொருந்து சங்கரனுக்கு
உதவித் தொழில் புரியும் ஒட்டக்கூத்தன்."

In the absence of any confirmatory evidence we cannot accept the former stanza as a genuine one of the time of Sadayan himself and we require more substantial evidence to say that Sankaran, the employer of Ottakkoothan, was the father of Sadayan the patron of Kamban. *Chola Mandala Sathakam* itself is a work of the 18th century. The *Tamil Navalar Charithai* has a stanza attributed to Kamban stating that Kandan is the father of Sadayan. It is inexplicable how the learned professor ignores this stanza (vide No. 90 of *Tamil Navalar Charithai*, page 77).

(5) On the basis of the stanzas quoted above, he concludes that Ottakkoothan was a senior contemporary of Kamban. We know that Ottakkoothan has sung of the glories of three successive Chola rulers, viz., Vikrama (1118-1135), Kulothunga II (1135-1150), and Raja Raja Cholan II (1152-1163) but does not sing about the Rajadhi Raja II (1163-1178). It is difficult to hold that he was also a court poet in the time of Kulothunga III (1178-1216) the successor of the last one. Other research workers such as the learned editors of the Adyar Kalakshetram edition of *Moovar Ula* and the author of *Kavi Rakshasan* find no trace of any evidence in support of the theory that

Kamban was a contemporary of Ottakkoothan (vide page 12 of the introduction to *Moovar Ula* and page 11 of Kavi Rakshasan). Pandarathar says that Ottakkoothan died in the time of Rajadhi Raja II (1150-1163)—(vide page 118, Part II of Pandarathar's *History of the Later Cholas*).

(6) It is somewhat inexplicable why Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai does not at all refer to the inscriptions at Ukkal where it is recorded that Sadayan helped the Mahasabha there with a loan of one thousand kadis of paddy at one time and four hundred kadis of paddy at another time directing them to feed two brahmins a day and to repair an irrigation tank with interest thereof. They belonged to 10th and 15th years of the reign of Kambavarman who flourished at the end of the 9th century. The omission seems to be that he was only searching for support in favour of his 12th century theory.

(7) If tradition be given any credit at all, it may be there were a number of Sadayans from the 9th century onwards. But the question is, who patronised Kamban ?

(*f*) The question whether Ottakkoothan jealously guarded his position and influence at the Chola Court and kept down young poets including Kamban does not arise. There is absolutely no shred of evidence that they were either contemporaries or were together at any king's court. The chief poet of Kulothunga III's court was Veerantha Pallavarayar (vide page 164, Part II Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas*).

(*g*) The statement that Kamban the Vaishnavite did not find favour with Kulothunga III, whose state religion was Saivism, and that those were not days of toleration, is not tenable. There is no evidence whatsoever that Kulothunga III was intolerant or anti-Vaishnavite. On the other hand, there is ample evidence afforded by inscriptions that though he was an ardent Saivite himself, endowed

liberally Vaishnava temples and Jain institutions. He built a Vishnu temple at Velur in South Arcot District and lent his own name to it as குலோத்துங்கசோழ விண்ணகரம் and endowed for it the entire village of " Kulothunga Chola Nallur " (vide pages 162 & 163, Part II, Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas*). It is difficult to see whence Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai got his information about the intolerance of Kulothunga III.

(*h*) That Kamban was neglected by literary circles as he did not follow the poetic tradition of his days is not supported by any evidence given by Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai and it seems to be a mere speculation. No doubt *Tamil Navalar Charithai* has a stanza attributed to 'Vanian Thathan' attacking Kamban, and reading as follows :—

> கைம்மணிச் சீரன்றி சீரறியா கம்பநாடன் சொன்ன
> மும்மணிக்கோவை முதற்சீர் பிழை.

Unfortunately, the poem மும்மணிக்கோவை attributed to Kamban is not available. Further, the description of Kamban as Kamba Nadan is an invention of the 16th century according to Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai (vide his *Kamban Kavyam* page 149). It is interesting to note that the same Vanian Thathan is alleged to have paid the highest tribute to Kamban according to *Tamil Navalar Charithai,* stanza 107, page 89, reading as follows :—

> இன்றோநங் கம்பனிறந்த நாளிப்புவியில்
> இன்றோதான் புன்கவிகட் கேற்றநாள்—இன்றோதான்
> பூமடந்தைவாழப் புவிமடந்தை வீற்றிருப்ப
> காமடந்தை நூல்வாங்கு நாள்.

(*i*) It is somewhat amusing that Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai should say that in spite of the opposition of the royal court and literary circles, his genius was recognised by the common people who immediately awarded him the title of " Kavi-c-chakravarthi ". He cites in support of it

what he calls a contemporary poem which reads as follows :—

கம்பநாடுடைய வள்ளல கவிச்சக்கரவர்த்தி பார்மேல்
நம்பு பாமாலையாலே நரருக்கின்றமுத மீந்தான்.

(vide pages 126 & 127 of his *Kamban Kavyam*). Unfortunately he contradicts the same on page 149 of the same book that the expressions "Kamba Nadan" and "Kavi-c-chakravarthi" are inventions of the 16th century. Further, what he reads as இன்றமுதம் in the above stanza is given as இன்னமுதம் in other editions (vide Sunnakam Kumaraswamy Pillai's *Balakandam*).

(*j*) Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai does not adduce any evidence for the statement that Kamban lived at the most prosperous period of Tamil History. He seems to point out that the achievement of empire under the later Cholas in the 10th century was itself the best evidence (vide *Tamil Chudar Manigal*, pages 121 & 122). It is difficult to see how the achievement of imperial power in the 10th century will help to fix the age of Kamban. On the contrary he says (page 153 of *Kamban Kavyam*) that at the beginning of the 12th century the Chola power was at its height and that it looked as though Kamban appeared just then to give artistic expression to the sovereign power. But according to his own conclusion, Kamban did not live at the beginning of it but at the end of it. Historians such as Messrs. Sathiyanathier, K. A. N. Sastry and Pandarathar are all agreed that the height of the imperial power was reached during the 11th century but had declined from the beginning of the 12th century. Mr. Sathiyanathier says, "Early in the reign of Kulothunga I (1070-1118), Ceylon became independent (1075) and towards the close of it, Ganga Desa (1117) Mysore and Vengi (1118). The Tamil country, as far as Rameswaram was raided by Vishnu Vardhana Hoysala (1104-1141). Troubles in the Pandya country engrossed the attention of the Cholas from 1169 to 1177 and from 1182 to 1189. The Telugu Cholas seized

Kanchi which was however recovered by Kulothunga III about 1196. The growth of feudatory puissance during the 12th century weakened the central authority (causing so much internal troubles by the rebellion of local chieftains and the invasion by the Ceylonese in the days of their King Parakrama Bahu the Great, (1153-1186)." [Vide *Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam,* Madras University, Sankara Parvathi lectures 1943-44, pages 41 & 42. (vide Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas,* Part II, pages 128 to 136 and 147 to 158.)]

As a matter of fact all through the reign of Kulothunga III during which Kamban is believed to have lived, the Chola ruler had to carry on a ceaseless fight against one or other of the rebellious feudatories. Though he was mostly successful against individual rebels, he was unable to prevent compacts being formed among them, in order to regulate their conduct towards the Emperor. These facts had the effect of converting the class of official nobles into a number of local autocratic rulers. The empire dissolved itself into a number of warring principalities. Eventually at the end of his reign he had the bitterness to see his homeland of Cauvery invaded, his capitals of Tanjore and Urandhai (Trichy) burnt down to ashes and his coronation all desecrated and his crown made a gift of to a Bana (poet) (from whom the Chola king is said to have received it). (Vide K. A. N. Sastry's *Cholas*, pages 393 & 407 revised edition—1955). The historian Pandarathar differs from him and states that the Pandyan invasion took place at the time of his son Raja Raja III immediately after his death or retirement.

Under such circumstances it is clear that the last quarter of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century marked the decline and decay of the Chola Empire.

(*To be continued*)

Tentative periodization of the development of Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL.

Old Tamil

(?—cca 6th, 7th century A.D.)

We must not be afraid to put the question mark at the very beginning; the beginnings of Tamil as a separate independent language of the Dravidian family are not yet elucidated and the exact limits are most difficult to ascertain. It seems to be clear that we may presume a hypothetical stage which might be called *Proto-Tamil (several centuries B.C.?) and which, in its turn, has developed out of a hypothetical unity of Tamil and Kannada (and possibly some other territorial dialects) which might be termed * Proto-South Dravidian. Malayalam at this stage. if differentiated at all, was probably only a territorial dialect of Western Tamil country, of the Cera land.[1]

1. *Early Old Tamil*

?—cca 3rd, 4th century A.D.)

The language of most of the Et:t:utthokai and Patthuppa:t:t:u texts, especially of the early poems of

[1] The exact limits of the beginnings of Malayalam are still difficult to ascertain. According to L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar and A. C. Sekhar, the 9th and 10th Centuries mark the end of this epoch. Thus we can assume that characteristically Malayalam forms existed in the speech of the West Coast for at least one or two centuries before they became acceptable in writing.

It is difficult yet to say if the language of the short inscriptions found in natural caverns in the Mathurai and Tirunhelve: li districts was Tamil at all. It may be the most ancient Tamil so far known to epigraphy; it may, on the other hand, be a hybridized form of Prakrit or Pali, strongly Tamilized. At any rate, it contains very many Prakrit words and forms. The inscriptions are unfortunately too short and brief and they have been too inadequately treated to offer a solid base for any far-reaching conclusions.

Putam, Akam, Nhattin: ai and Kutunthokai collections.

Characteristics :

1. *Morphology* : (a) Nominal : Total or nearly total absence of some later typical suffixes of casal relations (e.g. acc. suff. *-ai,* abl. suff. *-ilirunthu, -inintu,* inst. suff. *-a:l,* soc. suff. *-o:t:u*) and pluralizations (suff. *-kal:*). Typical ancient pronominal forms like *ya:m, ya:n,* dem. pron. *uthu* (side by side with *ithu, athu*) etc. (b) Verbal : total absence of present-tense morphome. The verb has two tenses (aorist-future and preterite) which seem to be rather aspects (momentaneous-durative, perfective-imperfective) than tenses. Some characteristic ancient verbal forms like the *-th*-type form : e.g. *na:tuthum* "we smell", *ontuthum* "we are alone". Typical personal endings (e.g. *-al, -um*) and absence of later personal endings like *-o:m* and double plural endings like *-i:rkal:*. Absence of passive.[2] Verbal nouns and verbal bases are richly employed.

2. *Syntaxis* : Typical clusters of bases (roots, stems) are used to express different syntactic relations. Absence of morphemes to express syntactic relations. Functional syncretism of casal suffixes. Pronominalised nouns (appellative verbs) and verbal nouns used very frequently as predicates. Combinations of verbs (union of verbs with verbs or nouns) introducing shades of aspect and tenses are only beginning to take shape. Word-order is significant, but not obligatory, often quite free, especially under pressure of metrical form ; in principle, the determinant precedes the determined, often, however, the object is preceded by the verb, subject by predicate. Groups are extended almost indefinitely, proposition being of the same nature as group, abounding in cascades of word roots (stems) with zero-morphemes.

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[2] I have come however across a case which definitely looks like passive construction, in Nhattin : ai 122,2, formed by verbal base plus the verb *un* :—to eat : *karung ka : t centhinai kat : iyum un : t': ana*/cf comment. . . . . tin : *aikkathirella : m koyyappat : t : a—a* "and the red millet of black stems has been cut."

3. *Lexicon*: Very few borrowed Indo-Aryan elements are found; they are rather Prakritic than Sanskrit. The borrowing gradually increases.

2. *Middle Old Tamil*

(cca 3rd, 4th—5th, 6th century A.D.)

The language of the later poems of Et:t:utthokai and Patthuppa:t:t:u (e.g. Kalitthokai, Paripa:t:al) and of the earlier poems of Pathinen:ki:l-kkan:akku (Kutal:, Kalaval-i etc.).

To the characteristics already described must be added especially: causative verb-bases in *-uv-* and *-vi, -kk-, -pikk-, -ppikk-*; preference for the 2nd pl. suff. *-i:r*; occurrence of final participles in *-va:n, -pa:n, -pa:kku*; honorific pl. *-va:rum* etc. Increasing use of Indo-Aryan loanwords of mixed Prakritic and Sanskrit origin.

3. *Late Old Tamil*

(cca 4th, 5th—6th, 7th century A.D.)

The language of the later and latest poems of Pathinen:ki:l-kkan:akku (Na:lat:iyar:r, Inna:nha:tpathu, Palamol-i, etc.) and of the Cilappathika:ram.

To the characteristic features of Old Tamil must be added especially some important trends and forms which appear for the first time: use of special morpheme of the present tense (**-kint-, -kkint-**); use of a special morpheme of objective case (*-ai*) with rationals and sometimes even with non-rationals; use of the pl. suffix *-kal:*; new developments in verbal endings (e.g. *-o:m*). Also, the typical clusters of roots become dissolved, word-order becomes more significant and bound. The number of Indo-Aryan loan-words still increases.

Middle Tamil

(cca 6th, 7th cent. A.D.—17th, 18th cent.)

It is the language of the Shaiva na:yana:rs and Vaishnava a:l-va:rs which shows distinctly new features and

new developments when compared with the language of the so-called Sangam poetry. Perhaps we are not far from truth when suspecting this new type of language to be, contrary to the artificial, literary language of the Sangam texts, the idiom spoken by the masses, by the people.[3]

All those features of grammar which have been described as sporadic and new in the Old Tamil period, become to be regular and widely employed in the language of these mystic poets: 1st p. pl. ending *-o:m*, present tense morpheme *-kint-*, *-kkint-*, pl. suffix *-kal:* etc. New forms and new functions appear (e.g. the frequent use of the refl. pron. *ta:n* as indeclinable emphatic participle) hand in hand with the changes in syntactic structure: clusters of roots dissolve in primary and secondary propositions mostly adverbial (temporal, casual, modal); the word order (Subject-Object-Predicate) becomes strict, though not rigid; new and more specialized morphemes spring into existence to express syntactic relations; some ancient verbal forms disappear, double plural verb endings are used, honorific forms are frequent.

Free use of Indo-Aryan, and, in this period, especially of Sanskrit borrowings, is progressively increasing, till, in the Middle Middle and Late Middle Tamil periods the language is overcharged with them.

We may, again, distinguish three stages of this period:

1. *Early Middle Tamil*

(6th, 7th cent. A.D.—850 A.D.)

The writings of the earlier Saiva na:yana:rs and Vaishnava a:l-va:rs, Perungkathai, Man:ime:kalai, Perunthe:-vana:r's Pa:ratham etc.

3 This assumption agrees with the general efforts and missions of the great Shaiva and Vaishnava pakthi poets: they wanted to get at the masses, they took pains to captivate the heart of the people, theirs was an apostolic mission, they did not compose their works for the few *kala: racikal:* but for the illiterate masses of the simple folk; it is thus quite natural that they should employ the language of the people.

2. *Middle Middle Tamil*

(850 A.D.—1200 A.D.)

E.g. Ci:vakacintha:man:i, Kampara:ma:yan:am, Periya Pura:n:am, early man:iprava:la style, early commentaries.

3. *Late Middle Tamil*

(1200—cca. 1750—1800)

This stage begins with the language of Civajnja:napo:tham, typical is the language of the famous commentators and rahasyas, as well as of the Pa:ratham of Villipputthu:rar. Extreme development of Late Middle Tamil may be seen in the rich man:iprava:la style showing immense number of Sanskrit loans and only partly retaining the Tamil morphologic and syntactic structures.

For the Middle Middle and Late Middle stages are typical some morphologic developments like e.g. *nat:ava:nhinte:n,* pres. tense for nat:akkinte:n, imperative in *-e:l,* frequent use of the passive formed with *paz:u-* and *un:-.*

New Tamil

(cca 1750-1800 to the present day)

The New Tamil period may be said to begin with the origins of Tamil prose,[4] i.e., with the works of F. Beschi, Civajnja:na Cuva:mikal: (1785) T.Ra:ya Mut:aliya:r (1850).

The origins and development of modern Tamil prose has caused the use of commonplace sayings, idioms of the colloquial form of the language, territorial dialectic forms in literature which, in its turn (today together with radio and film), has influenced immensely the development of the language. Also, a still increasing averseness to introducing too many Sanskrit words may be observed, on the

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[4] By modern prose I mean the artistic prose, the prose of fiction, not the scientific prose of the commentaries which was, naturally, in existence already for several centuries.

other hand, words of other languages (Urdu, Portuguese, French and, above all, English) have been freely adopted.

It is necessary to stress that this tentative scheme of the periods of Tamil language development is only tentative and that it is strictly schematical. It does not, e.g. take into account some special features of development as shown in the Tamil of Ceylon. It is based only on literary remnants. I should like to point out a few desiderata in this connection.

The following tasks must be fulfilled to enable the scholars to determine an exact and detailed periodization of the evolution of Tamil :

1. Every (or at least every typical, characteristic and important) literary work and every linguistic text (i.e. every linguistic datum, be it an epigraph engraved in stone, an inscription on pottery or a literary work preserved in palm-leaf manuscripts or orally) must be analysed and described from the philological point of view and, if its absolute dating is impossible, the relative date of its origin must be at least tentatively stated.

2. Special territorial developments must be taken into account. This means the foundation of Tamil dialectology and linguistic geography.

3. This is connected closely with the next demand, viz. to pay attention to the colloquial form of speech ; this means extensive field-work : to try to capture the Tamil speech in all its forms and manifestations (by the means of modern apparatus like magnetophone and experimental phonetic apparatus).

4. Attention must be paid also to the Tamil folklore which very often preserves obsolete and very important forms.

The task is enormous, and it must be mostly (especially the last three points) carried out by the Tamils themselves.

The Song of Madurai

மதுரைக்காஞ்சி

V. KANDASWAMI MUDALIAR

(Continued from previous issue)

Charioteers deeply versed in trainer's art
Urged their horses to mad-wind speed, when chariots
With the added grace of white maned horses
Harnessed to them sped fast, raising a cloud
Of sanguine dust which screened the blazing sun ;
And horses speeding to the bewitching toss of manes
Pomoted and well dressed left behind
A trail of deep hoof-marks ; and this was like
A flight of red-legged swans of feathers
Snow-white, trying to reach the radiant sun.
With the rumble of chariot-wheels, the clip-clop-clep
Of racing horses, and the trumpeting loud
Of stately tuskers mixed the cry of hawkers.
Standing in purple and cool shadows of mansions,
Flower-girls with perfumed flowers and garlands
Colourful, bewitchingly arranged,
Sellers with betel leaves green,
Tender and long-stalked, with chunam paste[1]
Of fired conch, arecanuts stewed in juice
Of karungali-bark,[2] and chewing-powder[3]
Perfumed and pulverized of camphor, sandal,
Gold and civet, cried out their wares exposed
For sale in their baskets large as kettle drums
Of warriors gleaming with hero-anklets
And golden flowers. And sturdy warriors

1-3 Chewing betel leaf still obtains in India ; betel leaf with a pinch of chunam paste, arecanuts and perfumed powder is munched after meal, it helps salivation like sweets after dinners.

Inebriate and of elephant port
Shambled about the crowd-surging street.
When hush fell, as at the end of battle
Of four-fold[4] armies contending, people caught
In the shouldering crowd heaved a sigh of relief.
When eve fell, when the crowd thinned and when
Silence reigned, the streets echoed with foot-falls
Soft, with muffled clops, with silvern voices
Of courtesans of seductive peacock grace,
Of blond complexion fair as rays of eve,
Reflected from golden statues of shoulders round
And sleek like hollow bamboo,[5] encircled
With bright anklets, of looks as mortal
As arrow-darts, of ensnaring pearl-rows
Of teeth, of languid ink-black tresses,
Of voluptuous breasts mantled with pink-fair
Chloiasma[6] and painted[7] with creeper design,
Who, eagerly bent on their way for embraces
Lascivious of lustful youths, promenaded.
Against the loud ensnaring allurements
Of these, moved in modest matronly grace,
Old dames of silver-white hair made up
Into the shape of right-whorled conch of the deeps
Hawking from door to door their viands diverse
And delicious and fragrant, and colourful
Flowers bewitchingly arranged in their trays.
Thus passed the evening hour of ablution
On the seventh day of the festivity
Unparalleled in grace, colour and sound
In the bazaar streets of four-boroughed
Madura-land, whose far and near crowd
Incoming and outgoing does not diminish
Nor swell, as the waters of the seas do not

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4 Bowmen, lancers, chariots and war-elephants.

5 This is a common simile in Tamil literature, comparing the round smooth shoulders of a woman to round, smooth bamboo.

6 This is considered a mark of beauty.

7 Painting the breasts and shoulders of a woman, by her lover, in creeper patterns was common then.

Decrease through thirsty clouds nor increase
By the winter freshes of rivers of land.
The broad streets echo with the rattle of chariot wheels
And tramp of prancing horses ; and handsome youths
Of rank, and generous as blue rain-clouds,
Arrayed with gold-brocaded *kachams,* as pink
As gorgeous clouds of the colourful west,
And with gold-hafted swords depending bright
From flaming girdles, and with hero-anklets
Gleaming round their ankles firm and close knit
And indurated, urge to racing-wind speed
Their chariots wrought in grace ; their whips rattle loud
In their sockets, their neem-garlands, a mark
Of the wane of fame and strength of enemies,
Sway in company with their blue garlands
Of sengalineir[8] flowers, their pink scarves
Flutter in the wind, and footmen steer clear
The way full with the last-lingering crowd
The Nayanar[9] festival is loud
With colour and sound ; and colourful banners
On adamantive staffs of storied mansions
Stream in the wind like spume flags of green waves
Towering, of the sapphire seas ; and screened
Behind them vanish as they appear,
Like the full moon behind dark-blue clouds,
The radiant faces of stately damsels.
The festive streets overflow with the fragrance
Of civet, with the soft silver chime
Of pearl-hearted beaming anklets,
With the golden radiance of jewelry
Flashing, and flower-graved bracelets wrought
Out of divine gold purified in fire,
And with the winsome charm of damsels
Bright of face as the golden sheen
Of ear-pendants fashioned like shark-fish.

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8 Deep crimson or purple water-lily.
9 The chief of the tutelary gods.

The music of evening worship softly rings,
When men pure in body and mind offer
Delicious food and flowers radiant, unfading
To the lofty Siva[10] girdled with the sword
Flaming, wrought with the elements five
Of ether, fire, air, earth and water,
And to other awe-inspiring deities.
Bedecked in blazing jewelry, women
Of chaste matronly grace, with their children
Against their full firm breasts, looking like
Gold-hearted lotuses, join at prayer.
With their well-beloved lords of sweet
Conjugal felicity, in the worship
Regular of Amana[11] monasteries.
In the Brahmin monasteries huddled
Like hills rise the clear chant of Vedas,
The blue curling smoke and the golden flame
Of sacrificial fire, and other rites of priests,
Who have become one with Brahmam, who is
In and through the universe; and these
Who have gained the bliss of heaven after
Having lived a householder's life in lands
Fourfold of the firm earth, by walking
In the righteous path of love for man and beast,
Share their bliss with other jeevan mukthas.[12]
The redeemed—of the Brahmin monasteries.
Jain mutts[13] high as reach of human eye
Rise like rock-temple from groves full with flowers
Rare, fragrant and colourful, whose high walls
Are sculptured like high-relief bronze-work.
From other mutts cool as the waters of a tank
Rises soft the chant of those who offer prayers
With incense smoke, and flowers alive

---

10 One of the gods of the Hindu triad; the destroyer.

11 Jain and frequently applied to Buddhist; Buddhism merged into earlier Jainism and came to the equated as Vaishnavism and Saivism are equated as Hinduism; the one erotic and the other ascetic.

12 Those who have realised God even in a house-holder's life

13 Mutts, monasteries of Jains, Brahmins and Buddhists.

With the chorus of gold-banded bees;
Wherein live those sages, who by penance,
Without bodily mortifications,
Have gained the peace that comes through subduing
Their senses five, and those wise seers who read
The past and the future, and who have
A knowledge of heaven and earth; from whose mutt roofs
Hang in nets bowls as narrow of mouths
As the clefts in rocks of towering hills.
As holy priests, who raise sacrificial fire
Leading to heaven, subdue the king and so
The assembly of wise ministers far-famed
And of flaming-white turbans decorated
With golden lace[14] of regal honour, guard the King
From all ill-fame, and lead in path lofty
Of righteousness that comes through elevating
His people by planting in them the love
Of kith, kin and all things living, after
Weighing impartially, like the beam
Unswerving of the scales, his good and evil.
Man and wife walking in the righteous path
Of householders live in mansions fair, huddled close
Like their neighbouring hills; and on the heights
Towering, of mansions full with viands
Varied, eagles rest and jubilantly cry.
And beside them live merchants who trade
In products of hills, land, sea, as gold
Precious, peerless pearls and colourful gems,
And also priests, captains, ambassadors
And spies of four-fold jargon, like knightly kosas
Affecting four different tongues, who live
In Mogoor of the chieftain king, Pazhaiyan[15]
Ever fertile through unfailing rains.
Your four-square streets beam with the colour
And ring with the hum of crowded traders

---

14 A strip of gold-leaf decoration given by the king and worn on the face of a turban.

15 The chieftain King of Magoor.

And artisans standing shoulder to shoulder
And hip to hip ; weavers great and small spread
Their sarees in ripple-folds and hawk them ; sellers
Of bangles cut and fashion slender conch wristlets ;
Jewellers drill gems to beads and string them
Into necklaces of blue sapphires, corals
And pearls ; goldsmiths exhibit their ornaments
Fashioned out of purest gold, and those who
Determine the purity of gold stand
By them ; braziers weigh and barter their wares
Old and new ; drapers do the kachams[16]
To the latest fashion ; flower girls,
Akil[17] and sandal sellers, and artists
Keen-eyed, who paint in cunning colours and true,
Finish up the motley crowd of Bazaar-streets.
In the evening-bazaar, the cry of hawkers
Of juicy jacks, sweet and rare mangoes,
And other fruits mingles with the jubilation
Of eating-houses where people feast on milk-rice
Sweetened with candy sweeter than nectar,
And on savoury meat-rice served with
Other delicious dishes of cooked roots,
Vegetables and fresh greens, luxuriant
Through the never-failing seasonal rains.
This babel of voices is like the surge in halls
Of assembly, where men adept in debates
Religious, argue and discourse before
The Chera-king of gleaming palm-flower garland[18]
Whose praises are sung, to the beat of drums,
By the minstrels of his cool seaboard land
It is like the tumult that rises aloud
In the noon of day, when full-sailed, stately
Merchantmen, to carry to distant lands
Diverse products, cast anchor in the seaport
Stenchy, where the Kaveri[19] empties itself ;

16 Probably turbans.
17 Cagil-wood (aquilaria agallocha)
18 Insignia of Chera King.
19 A river in Chola country, now it drains Tanjore.

It is also like the noisy twitter
Of crop-full birds, as they fly down to feed,
In the fast-falling eve, their eager nestlings.
  In the evening hour when the sun, abating
Its fiery rays, sets behind western hills,
When the moon, grown full after sixteen days
Of waxing, rises in east making noon of night.
Fawn-eyed women beloved of their kind
For their chastity, eager for the embraces
Of their husbands, deck themselves with garlands
Of fragrant water-lilies and radiant jewelry,
Smear their bodies with sandal and musk,
Anoint their long tresses with scented oil,
Smoke their diaphanous, flower-worked sarees
With the perfume of akil and sandal.
  Smitten with amour at the approach of night
Convivial, after the hush of noisy day,
They light their hundred lamps of golden tongues,
Illumining the town to its very borders
Round, to welcome home their dear absent lords.
They then raise, by turns, enrapturing music
In their seven-tuned small harps ; and after
Amour, with the return of modesty
Dearer than life, quiescently repose.
  And courtesans of affected modesty
And seductive, eager for the lascivious
Embraces of bucks deck their raven black hairs
With flowers of heaven-reaching perfume.
The broad festive streets, littered with fallen
Opening buds, overflow with fragrance
Luxurious, and with the jingle of courtesans
Wandering for the sweet seductions of night,
Who set their straying jewelry ; and decked
Abright with almost a bower of buds,
Varied in hue and sweet perfumed, which open
To the chorus of circling bees, hasten
For further captivations of enrapturing night.

At dawn pearl-winged bees hum their flatteries
Round the fallen flowers at their portals,
And desert after draining their honey cups ;
And so the courtesans spend the balmy night !
Locked in the arms of lustful youths,
To the print of their jewelled garlands,
On their supple full breasts, and rob them
Of their wealth with honeyed words of loving
Affectations, and leave them in the lurch.
In their mansions overflowing with perfume
And illuminated with golden flames,
Courtesans, ravishingly fair as nymphs
Of heaven, decked with beaming jewelry
Of purest gold, spend the night with youths,
Who, like birds that go in quest of trees
Fruit-laden, gather round them. And the courtesans
With these gay gallants gambol in water
Cool, of Vaigai river, rest on sand dunes
Playing on harps and drums, till far
Into the night and then desert in haste.
And girdled round their swaying waists with wreaths
Of water-lilies, and cresses hanging
Over their languid zones for other captivations
Seductive, hurry to their stately mansions
Full with perfume of enrapturing flowers.
On the bright Onam-day[20] of the birthday
Festivity of Nannan,[21] the king radiant
With golden garland in token heroic
Of vanquishing the host of Avunas,[22]
Heroic warriors, inebriate with toddy,
Heedlessly wandered about the streets littered
With sharp steel gravels thrown in the mad path
Of battle-tuskers, for the abatement of their speed,
By goaders from the lap-folds of their tunics
Of broad, blue borders. The hands of warriors

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20 Now an important Malayalee festival ; basically a harvest festival ; has mythological associations with Mahabali, the asura king.

21 A great chieftain king.

22 அ௵. அவுணர்.

Are indurated with training tuskers
Of war, death dealing, whose heads are covered
With scars of battle, and their thumbai garlands,
To the hum of bees, sway round their shoulders,
And love of war ever burns in their hearts.
With milk surging in full round breasts, women
Of matronly grace, newly delivered
Of children, to the great joy of their husbands,
Wash, with their kith, kin and others
Of their households, the pollution of child birth,
In the holy waters of the temple tank ;
And join in worship to the sweet melody
Of harps set in tune with drums large and small,
By food offerings before the golden flames
Of camphor, when enceinte women of pea-cock gait
Pray for a similar deliverance
And safe of their first and anxious conception,
As augured by the presiding, god-possessed
Priestess of broad, full and rounded shoulders.
With these mingles the surge of devil dame-square,
Where the awe-inspiring priest, decked abright
With a garland of kurinchi[23] flowers
Of winter, dances to the music silvern
Of pellet-anklets[24] and hand-silambu ;
And apprises the crowd of the cause
Of their several misfortunes, and offers
Propitiatory worship to Muruga
Decked with kadamba[25] flowers. The festive
Birth-day of far-famed Nannan finished up
With the surge of kuravai dance and song,
Of man and wife, in the villages
Several and cheries of Madura-town ;
Thus passed the first watch of the night.
When conch trolls the end of first watch, women
Stately and modest of mien, decked with jewels,

23 Now applied to blue flowers of Nilgiri Hills, Stubilanthes Gunthianes.

24 Pearl or jewel hearted anklet, and the same is used as a hand musical instrument by priests when they dance in ecstatic-square.

25 Wendlaudia Notoniama (bot.).

Shut their booths of sliding plank-doors, to rest
For the night, and confectioners of cakes
Spongy as beehive, of sweet puffs with dhol
And cocoanut stuffed and sweetened with candy,
And of cates stewed in honey, sink to sleep
By their confection baskets beside.
  Dancers, pipers, trumpeters and others,
At the end of the festivity, lie hushed in sleep
Like the sea that calms after its surge.
  In the darkness of midnight,
When evil spirits wander with demons deadly,
Swarthy thieves, one with the dark night, dressed
In tunics, black as hide of tuskers stately,
Over their many-coloured underwears,
And dusky turbans, cower about the streets
For a chance to steal jewelry ; swords hang
By their sides, deadly daggers and hidden
In the rippled folds of their underwears ;
Rope-ladders are wound round their loins, and they
Wander about with sandaled feet, and armed
With chisels to which even firm stone walls
And steel-bound heavy doors will easily yield.
  While armed with unerring bows and arrows
City-guards, versed deep in criminology
Fearless of evil spirits and unmindful
Of heavy rains of the night that flood
The broad streets, go round their night watches
Spying for thieves, who vanish in the twinkle
Of an eye, and wait under cover
To pounce upon them, as tigers sinewy
Lie in wait to strike down stately tuskers.
  The Vedic Brahmins[26] humming-chant rises
Like the chorus of dragonflies round
The opening pollen cups of fragrant flowers
Of cool green tanks ; harpers tune their lyres and play
Marutha songs ; goaders urge tuskers to eat ;
Chariot horses in stalls begin to chew grass ;

[26] Brahmins whose business is to chant the Vedas.

Bazaar-keepers sweep their booths and spray
Them with cow-dung water ;[27] toddy vendors
Loudly tell the prices and hawk the beverage.
When the morning rays of sun dispel darkness
Of night, chaste damsels sleeping in embraces
Loving of their lords, eager for duties
Domestic of day rise betimes, open
The lofty doors guarding their high-walled mansions,
To the jingle of their anklets and bracelets
Flashing like lightning, when the morning echoes
With the confused lisp of men still under
The spell of their night's carouse, with praises
Of minstrels, some standing and some sitting,
And with the bell-toll of time-keepers.
Peal of drums apprises the birth of dawn,
And mingles with the bellowing of bulls in stalls ;
The song of pie-bald cock ushers in the dawn ;
The hoopoe, the swan and the peacock tune
Their amorous notes calling to their mates ;
Tuskers in company of their dames peel loud
Jubilantly ; and the roar of tigers,
Bears, and lions immured in cages echoes
In the distant chaste blue heavens .of dawn.
When the morning rays of sun put to rout
The darkness of night, ushering in the dawn
With the promise of security, maids
Sweep the mansions littered with arecanuts,
Pearls and gems flaming as flower torn from
Necklaces in the night's amours, and sweep
The sanded gateway buzzing with bees circling round
Fallen flowers of the night's amour.
Tuskers deserted by brazen-shouldered
Warriors in their retreat, horses fleet of foot
Captured from the enemy's country, and herds
Of cattle deserted by fleeing herdsmen through

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27 This custom still obtains in Hindu homes of South India ; cow-dung and other products of cow are sacred to Hindus, for example the wine ; it is supposed to remove pollution.

Slaughterous flames raised by fierce Vetuwas,[28]
Massive doors of fortresses girdling round
The hill-country, and subsidies of gold
And jewelry offered as homages
By vassel kings flow in volume
Measureless into Madura like waters
Many of the Ganges that empty themselves
Into the sea. Thus in riches greater
Than of the domains of gods shines in glory
Far-famed Madura-town of Pandian king.
  Damsels roseate fair as the rays of sun
Setting behind western hills, filtering
Through a grove of asoka[29] trees aflame
With burning-red leaves on a network
Of boughs circled round by humming flatteries of bees—
  Damsels decked with jewelry wrought of gold
Purest, set with sparkling colourful gems,
Walking in bewitching peacock-gait casting
Radiant haloes—
  Damsels tender of newly-budded
Mango-leaf complexion mantled fair
With golden chloasma in leaf-vein patterns—
  Damsels with a fine array of pearl teeth,
With ears beaming with pendants shark-shaped,
And of faces bright as large pollen-filled flowers
Of red lotus of flaming petals that grow
In the sacred tank, and decked with wristlets
Of rare craftsmanship of cunning artists—
  In a bed curtained with colourful garlands,
The king rested for the night in the embraces
Fond of such sweet consorts, with his head
Pillowed on their perfumed shoulders round,
And rose betimes for the work of morn,
After amour-satisfied quiescent sleep
Sweet, at the early hours of the dawn.
  The king handsome as a statue wrought

---

[28] A fierce warrior tribe.
[29] (bot) Polyalthia longiflora.

In cunning colours lively and true to life
By cunning artists, and smeared with fragrant paste
Of sandal of adamantine core and decked
Abright with pearl necklace and fair garlands
Of colourful flowers, round which hummed bees,
Gold-banded, their amorous songs, set in state—
The jewel-set rings on his fingers gleamed,
In tune with the golden hero-anklets ;
And his starched diaphanous tunic on shoulders
Broad, hung in straight faultless folds in tune
With pearl-garlands hanging down from his neck.
Sovereign liege, lord of hosts and princes !
Sitting in state, you welcome those warriors,
Who, like the anicut that stops the fast-rushing
Waters, advancing between two warring hosts,
Have put to flight the surging forces of foes,
To the praise of your fame through victories of sword :
Those warriors who with mighty bend of bows
Have their arrows against their broad chests borne,
And of shoulders brawny enough to master
Wild horses of mettle and fleet of foot :
Those warriors rich in heroic deeds who had
Guarded the fortresses girdled by as deep moats
As yawning hill-caverns into which surge
And rush the waters of winter rains :
Those warriors still covered with raw wounds
Through battling tuskers of war, and who,
To the peal of kettle-drums of mouths stopped with the robe
Of death-dealing bulls, had boldly marched
Into the very thick of battle like forest-fire
To the devastation of enemies :
Those allies decked with garlands of gold-wrought
Thumbai-flowers, who had flung their arrows
And steel-capped lance-sticks at the enemies.
To their confusion, and who are armoured
In sectional coats-of-mail dull with age,
Over their bodies obvious with ribs,

Like the spokes of wheels, through flesh-lorn wounds of war :
Those who have patched up friendships
Between those, whose prosperous domains broad
Are comparable to the regions of the gods :
Those vassals of smaller domains, who are
Decked with colourful garlands, whose chests deep
Are dry with sandal paste, and who had
Devastated the arrayed forces stately
Of tuskers of war :
Thus welcome princes
And warriors famed through war to enter,
Without hesitation, your lofty palace gates.
Accessible thus, you will be to all,
And welcome the troops of minstrels, singers,
Dancers and trumpeters ; and not curious
To know who and whence they are, you with them
Consider as your own kith and kin,
And without their solicitations,
And to the measure of their dear wishes,
Give gifts of lofty chariots decked with lotuses
Wrought in ivory, and tuskers.
In fields far and wide people carouse wild
On sweet toddy ; under every tree fat sheep
Are slaughtered, and the fat melts under fire raised
To approach them ; and tumult of people stewing
Vegetables of diverse kinds mingles with fumes,
Purple and blue as mist-clouds of winter,
Hissing through the final flavouring
Of dishes over fire in frying pans.
Thus does Madura of lofty mansions jubilate !
May you walk in the path of your forbear,
Lofty Kudumi,[30] famous for raising
Many penance fires, and who shared the bliss
Of heaven with great teachers, who had performed
All austerities as mentioned

30 A greatly renowned forbear of the Pandians.

In ancient lore. And you like lofty Vishnu[31]
The lord of all the wealth of the wide world,
Will share all your good things with your peoples.
Filled with greatness matchless, wisdom,
And all other praiseworthy virtues, you will
Bestow precious gifts on the many
Families that live in your large domain,
And elevate them. And filled with deep learning
You will shine amidst your kith and kin
Prosperous like the flaming sun that rises
From the depths of sapphire seas, and like
The full moon amidst her starry host.
And you will, to the deep desire of your heart,
Lead in the straight path of righteousness,
Chieftain kings famed for war ; the five-fold men[32]
Great in virtue and wisdom, decked with jewels
Of far-famed gold, of your great assembly ;
The Kongan[33] kings famed for smiting with sword
Unfailing, their foes, beginning from Maran,[34]
A chieftain king, famous and decked with flowers
Of gold, who on earth established renown
Fair ; and to the blessings of the wise,
Beaming with renown, of the assembly.
When night comes, sleep against the shoulders
Of consorts, decked with beaming jewelry,
After carousing on the well-flavoured mead,
Offered by them in cups of gold.
May thou, lofty king, great in wisdom
Live for the rest of your god-ordained days
Walking in the goodly path of righteousness !

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31 Vishnu, one of the Hindu triad, the preserver; in one of his incarnations he rose to sky-reaching height and hence lofy.

32 Ministers of the king's assembly (cabinet) ; ministers, commanders, priests, ambassadors, spies.

33 Kongan, a country of a chieftain king.

34 A chieftain king of the line of Pandians.

Tamil Nayanars in Telugu Literature

ATHILAKSHMI

The Nayanars of the Tamil country played an important role in the evolution of Saivism in South India. The word ' Nayanar ' denotes a devotee of Saiva. They were sixty-three in number and were drawn from all strata of Hindu Society ; the twice-born and the low-born, the kings, warriors and the commoners. They lived approximately between the 5th and the 10th centuries of the Christian Era.

In Telugu they are styled as ' Aruvattumuvvuru Nayanarlu ' and are included in the ' Sahasraganamalika ' which forms one of the devotional litanies of the Saivites of the Telugu country. Curiously enough the number 63 corresponds to the Tri-shasti-sataka purushas of Jain tradition embodied in the encyclopaedic work of Hemachandra Suri, the well-known Jaina Samayacharya in his Tri-Shasti-Satakapurusha Charitra.

In South India Saivism had to encounter two formidable rivals, Jainism and Buddhism, before it could win its way to popular favour. In the great social upheaval and religious confusion that ensued, it was these Nayanars who stood firm and led the banner of Saivism to victory. The deflection of the popular current towards Saivism was mainly due to the heroic efforts of these devotees. Their burning faith in Siva as the supreme deity was powerful enough to carry conviction even to non-believers. They were by no means ostentatious but were humble, pure in body and mind alike. Their inspiring example moved even kings to embrace the gospel of

Saivism. Thus we see the Pallava King MAHENDRAVARMAN I, who was at first a Jain, becoming an ardent Saivite under the influence of Appar (Tirunavukkarasu or Vāgīsar Nayanar). With the zeal characteristic of a new convert, Mahendravarman caricatured Buddhists and Jains in his Sanskrit burlesque *Mattavilasa-Prahasana.*

These Nayanars, besides being the living embodiment of devotion and sacrifice, were also great poets. Quite a volume of devotional hymns flowed from their hearts providing emotional sustenance for Saivite devotees of later ages. *Tevaram* which consists of the hymns of Appar, Sambandhar, and Sundarar and Manikkavachakar's *Tiruvasakam* form the basis of Saivite devotional literature. All the four were inspired Saints who electrified the country with their songs of devotion and set in motion a wave of Bhakti, which spread throughout the land kindling the light of spiritual aspiration.

Besides these four main Nayanars, Tirumular (the author of *Tirumandiram*), Chiruttondar, Amaraniti and others also played an important role in giving a new stimulus to Saivism.

The stories of the Tamil Nayanars were obviously very popular in South India and had spread into the neighbouring Telugu and Kannada countries. In Telugu Literature we find for the first time references to some of these Nayanars in the *Sivatatwasaramu* of Mallikarjunapandita who lived between 1100-1180 A.D. In Nannechoda's *Kumara Sambhavam,* the earliest Saivite classic in Telugu, we find a reference to Tirunilakanta Nayanar in Canto 5 verse 143[1]. But complete biographies of the Saints are given only by Palkuriki Somanatha, the famous Telugu poet and apostle of Virasaivam (1190-1260 A.D.). In his earlier work, *Basavapuranamu,* Somanatha links some of the stories of the Nayanars with the main story of Basava to prove that 'Devotion tinged with pride is futile' and that 'Bliss is conferred on the truly devoted, without any

consideration of birth or intelligence'. The stories of the Nayanars form the most interesting chapter of the work. Somanatha introduces the story of Sundaramurti Nayanar and in the course of that story narrates briefly the accounts of some other Nayanars. It is in his later great work *Panditaradhyacharitra* (the biography of Mallikarjuna Pandita) that Somanatha enumerates the names of all the sixty-three Nayanars, and deals with the stories of some of them in the *Puratana Prakarana* of that work. The story of Udya Nambi is again narrated at length in the *Mahimaprakarana.*

In this connection it should be noted that the names of some of the Nayanars, as given by Somanatha, differ from those found in the *Periapuranam,* though the themes are the same. Later Telugu poets generally followed Somanatha who first recorded, in Telugu, these stories as current in popular tradition. For instance Nandanar is referred to only as 'Tirumallaprova'. It is a corruption of the Tamil word Tirunalaipovar. Similarly Iyarpagai Nayanar becomes Elpagha, Kōtpuli is changed into Kolpuli, Athipatta and Kalikkamba are known as Adibharta and Kaliyamba. Sambandhar is referred to as Pillai Nayanar and Tirunilakanta is called Potter Gundayya (Kummar Gundayya). There are also changes in the minor details of the stories.

Besides these two main works, we find copious references to the Nayanars in his other Telugu works *Vrishadhipa Satakamu* and *Chaturvedasaramu.* Thus the credit of introducing the themes of these famous Tamil Saints and giving them a permanent place in Telugu Literature goes to Somanatha.

Sivadevayya, otherwise known as Visweswara Siva Desika, the religious preceptor and minister of Kakati Ganapati Deva (1199-1260 A.D.) refers to Sirala, Sundara and Tirunilakanta in his Sataka, *Siva Devadhrimani Sata-*

kamu which is not however now available. The following verse occurs in an anthology :

> “ అరయఁగ పిన్నవాఁడు సిరియాళుఁడనై యెలప్రాయమందునుం
> దరుఁడను నంబినై పదనుదప్పిన గుండయగారి చందమై
> ధరచరియింప గలిగిన తథాస్తు వృథాపరిపాక రూపదు
> ష్కర జననం బిదేమిటిమి? కాలుపనే శివదేవధీమణీ!

> ‘My life would have been fruitful if I had been a Sirivala in boy-hood, Sundara in youth and Gundaya (Tirunilakanta) in old age. If a man has no faith in Siva then this birth is a burden and life is futile.’

In Sarabhankalinga’s *Sataka* written about 1300 A.D. we find references to the Nayanars ; this work is available. Ravipati Tirpurantaka, a poet of the post-Kakatiya period, refers to incidents in the lives of the Nayanars in his work *Tripurantakadahanamu.*

Srinadha, one of the famous Telugu poets, in his poetical work *Haravilasamu* deals with the story of Chiruttonda in two aswasas. The story given here is very similar to that found in the *Periapuranam* excluding the military career of the saint as Paranjothi. He links the story of the Dravidian saint with Aryan mythology and says that Tumbura was born on earth as Chiruttonda as the result of a curse by Durvasa reputed for his irritable temper.

Srinadha gives the caste of Chiruttonda as vaisya, whereas in the Tamil work he is referred to as belonging to Mahamatyakula. Palkuriki Somanatha already referred to also styles Chiruttonda as a Vysya and calls him as Siriyala and the son as Sirala. But Srinadha never refers to the father as Siriyala, but invariably as Chiruttonda. Srinadha follows Somanadha in giving the name of Sangalavva to the saint’s wife, who is also referred to a Tiruvenganachi. Her name in *Periapuranam* is Tiruvengattu-

nangai. In Telugu Literature, the Nayanar is stated to be from Kanchi and not Sengattangudi, as stated in the Tamil work. In the Kannada works, Siriyala Settina Ragale and Siriyala Settine Vardige, we also find the names Siriyala Setti, Sangalavva and Sirala.

The stories of the Nayanars, however interesting they might be, were viewed only from a religious point of view, till Srinadha gave the story of Chiruttonda Nambi a literary stamp and a classical touch so that his successors, Saivites as well as non-Saivites, hit upon these themes for composing separate Kavyas. Thus came into vogue, a number of works on the well-known Nayanars, the most popular among them being Chiruttonda, about whom, there is a Prabandha by Garikapati Tammayya, a Dwipada by Vanavella Gangadhara, and a Yakshagana by Valekotiah. Harikatha performances narrating the story are also in vogue even to-day. There is a classical drama in Sanskrit by Rakshanadha of Tiruvannamalai which is known as 'Sivabhaktananda Nataka'. Here the proper names are Sanskritised as Dahra Bhakta and Swetavana, Arunapuri, etc. The story of Chiruttonda is popular also in the Maratha country ; a special feast is held in honour of the Saint who is termed as Siriyala Maharaja.

Next comes the story of Sundaramurthi which forms the theme of the well-known *Champu Kavya Odayanambi Vilasamu* by Ajjarapu Perayalinga Kavi. A high class Yakshagana by Ragalinga Nimmanadha is also a work of merit.

The story of Kannappa Nayanar was written by one Kanchiraju Suraya in Champu style, but the work is unfortunately lost. It is known only by a single verse quoted in the anthology, *Prabandha Ratnakaramu Jaggana,* written about 1550 A.D. In *Kalahasti-Mahatmyamu* of Dhurjati, a poet of Krishnadevaraya's Court, the story of Kannappa Nayanar forms the main theme. This work is one

of the famous prabandhas of the golden age of Telugu Literature.

Pillanayanar Charitra, the story of Sambandhar, was the first of its kind written as a separate dwipada kavya by Piduparti Basavana, but the work is not available.

About Tirunilakanta we have an excellent Champu Kavya by name 'Kummar Gundayya Charitra'. It is written by Amalapurapu Sanyasi Kavi of the last century. Curiously, the author belongs to the same caste as that of the saint.

All these poets belong to the Telugu country proper extending up to Ganjam district, now a part of Orissa.

Coming to the 18th century we have two outstanding works relating to Nayanars. One is the prose work known as Sivabhaktavilasamu by Kaluve Nanjaraja of Mysore, the well-known poet and patron of letters. He is a Saivite and a poet in Sanskrit and Kannada also. He is the author of many Telugu classical prose works; Halasyamahatmyamu (the greatness of Halasya Kshetra—Madurai), Kasimahimardhadarpanamu, and Garalapuri Mahatmyam (the importance of Nanjangudu) are some of his prose works that have come down to us. Sivabhaktavilasamu is a voluminous work in 75 adhyayas divided into five cantos. The stories of all the Nayanars are dealt with in this work. The life of Haradatta, the famous Saivacharya, is also included.

The other work is Harabhaktavilasamu by Attaluri Papa Kavi, containing nearly 5000 verses in five cantos. This work stands on a par with the *Periapuranam* in Tamil. Papa Kavi, the author, is known to the literary world as the author of Chenna Basavapuranamu. These two rare works are both complete and are written on cadjan leaves.

It is explicitly stated in the Telugu works that the Nayanars belonged to Dravida desa. For instance, Gundayya is said to belong to the famous place of Kanakasabhai, which is known in the Tamil Nad as Chidambaram.

Nanjaraja's work gives an account of some of the religious customs peculiar to the Tamils, which are interwoven with the stories of the Nayanars, such as the worship of Kumaraswamy. In Andhra, Subrahmanya is mostly represented as a serpent and the concept of a god with two wives is not in vogue. Further we find no temple dedicated to Subrahmanya at present though there is a reference to one such at Chebrolu in the Yuddhamalla's inscription dated 980 A.D. Even Visakhapattinam, which was constructed by Kulottunga Chola I, is stated to have taken its name after the deity of the place—Visakha or Kumara whose temple is now submerged under the sea.

Thus, it will be seen that the lives of the Nayanars attracted the attention of Telugu writers from the 12th century till the present day. They reveal the influence of Tamil tradition on the neighbouring Telugu and Kannada peoples. The culture of the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil speaking peoples had undoubtedly many common features in earlier times, and studies of this nature will, one may hope, strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between the various linguistic groups inhabiting South India.

Reviews

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL, Vol. V, 1956

(The D. S. Senanayake Memorial Number)

It is not always easy to form impartial estimates of men and events in living memory. Nevertheless the D. S. Senanayake memorial number of the Ceylon Historical Journal can be deemed to have performed this difficult task admirably, for, the contributors of the various articles are mature and discerning persons who were intimately connected with Mr. D. S. Senanayake. Sir Ivor Jennings, the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon writes on the services rendered by D. S. Senanayake in the struggle for independence as well as in the consolidation of Free Ceylon as her first Prime Minister. Mr. R. L. Brohier describes Mr. Senanayake's contribution as the Minister of Agriculture to the development of irrigation and other facilities intended to promote the lot of the peasant. His foreign policy which aimed at peace and co-operation with the Democracies of the world and with the Commonwealth countries are described by the Hon. Jayavardena, while his interest in University education and his contribution to the development of a residential University in the Kandi district are stressed in a brief article by Sir Charles Attygale, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon. An insight into the circumstances which led to the appointment of the Soulbury Commission, the complexity of the problems which it had to face and the admirable role played by Mr. Senanayake in their solution are furnished by Sir Frederick Rees, member of the Ceylon Commission on Constitutional Reform, 1944, while the qualities of Mr. Senanayake, the man, are vividly portrayed by Viscount Soulbury, the Governor-General of Ceylon,

who pays a glorious tribute to him when he writes that but for Senanayake the history of Ceylon would have been unfortunately different. A far-sighted statesman, Mr. Senanayake rose above petty differences and narrow prejudices. The welfare of his country was his sole concern. He recognized the legitimate place to which the Tamils of Ceylon were entitled and was not guilty of wilful persecution. This is clearly shown by Sir F. Rees in his article.

The Journal reproduces several photographs of Mr. Senanayake and the public speeches made by him. The tributes paid to him by the outstanding public men of the world are also incorporated.

K. K. PILLAY

ARCHITECTURAL AND SCULPTURAL MONUMENTS OF INDIA

This map, illustrating the cultural heritage of India in the shape of the Architectural and Sculptural Monuments of old, has been prepared with care. Though not the first of its kind, it belongs to a novel series designed to interest the lay public as well as the discerning specialist. It is perhaps easy to point out that certain prominent monuments like those of Tiruvannamalai, Tanjore or Suchindram should also have figured in the map, but it is well to remember the limitations of space. The map does not by any means profess to be exhaustive ; rather it is representative of the different parts of the huge country. The design, the colour scheme, the indication of the approximate dates of the different periods in Indian Art as well as the brief descriptions of the monuments are good. However, some dates given are rather vague and misleading, as for example, those pertaining to the temples of Chidambaram (A.D. 500 to 1700) and Rameswaram—18th century A.D.

K. K. PILLAY

News and Notes

Madras State becomes Unilingual State

Under the State Re-organization Act, 1956, Madras State has become a Unilingual (Tamil) State.

Tamil becomes the Official Language of the Madras State

Following the State Re-organization the Madras Legislature passed an important piece of legislation—a bill to provide for the adoption of Tamil as a language to be used for the official purpose of the State of Madras.

* * * *

The Madras Assembly to-day (27-12-56) adopted unanimously the Official Language Bill, making Tamil the language of administration in the State.

* * * *

Mr. C. Subramaniam, who was lustily cheered on rising to move the Bill for being taken into consideration at once, said that this was a significant step forward in their march towards progress. However a mere declaration of Tamil as official language would not bring about all that they wanted immediately. It had been the desire of the general public, legislators and State Government that all official business should be transacted in Tamil in this State as early as possible.

* * * *

"I am immensely pleased" concluded the Minister amidst applause, " that in this joyous task I have the undivided and unanimous approbation of all the members and let this be our last act of crowning glory to our mother-tongue."

* * * *

The entire discussion on the Bill was in Tamil and even members who had never before attempted to speak in Tamil took to it to-day befitting the pleasant and happy atmosphere.

The Deputy Speaker made history by using Tamil to put the motions to the vote of the House at every stage of adoption of the Bill.

* * * *

Later moving for the adoption of the Bill, the Minister said : " May I on behalf of the Assembly, Government and the people of Tamil Nad dedicate this piece of legislation to Tamil Mother ? To-day I breathe the free air of Tamil and I deem it a special honour that I am privileged to pilot this Bill. The special honour has come in my way not because of my worth but because of the penance of my forefathers. Many are there who are eminently fitted to have this honour—those who had dedicated their lives to the Tamil language and Tamil cause.

" IF ONLY THE LONG LINE OF TAMIL SCHOLARS WERE TO COME BACK TO LIFE AND BE HERE THEY WOULD REJOICE AND SHOWER THEIR CHOICEST BLESSINGS ON US. I CANNOT DO BETTER THAN END MY SPEECH AND CLOSE THE BUSINESS OF THE PRESENT ASSEMBLY WITH THE FOLLOWING VERSES OF POET BHARATHI :

" VAZHGA SENTHAMIZH VAZHGA NATRAMIZHAR VAZHGA BHARATHA MANI THIRUNADU "

He then gave the call for Three Cheers to Tamil.

—*Indian Express.*

* * * *

Glossary of Administrative Terms in Tamil

A glossary of administrative terms in Tamil prepared by a Committee set up by the Madras Presidency Tamil Sangham and finalized by a Committee of senior Government Officials and non-officials with Mr. S. Venkatesan, I.C.S., as Chairman was handed over to the Chief Minister Sri K. Kamaraj on 21st December 1956 at a function held at Rajaji Hall presided over by Sri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. —*Madras Information.*

* * * *

Czechoslavak Delegation's visit to Madras City

A fifteen member Czechoslavakian Delegation of eminent people in the field of science, art and humanities headed by Dr. Karol Bedrna, First Deputy Minister for Education and Culture, Government of Czechoslavakia paid a five-day visit to Madras in the last week of December. The delegation met at the residence of the Vice-President, Mr. A. Subbiah and had an interesting discussion.

* * * *

Doctor of Literature for Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai

The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred on Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai, B.A., B.L., Head of the Tamil Department of the University of Madras during its centenary celebrations. In presenting Professor Sethu Pillai to the Chancellor for the confernment of the Degree the Vice-Chancellor Dr. A. L. Mudaliar made the following citation :—

" Here we have a great scholar in Tamil, one whose erudition has been acknowledged by eminent authorities. Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai is the first Professor of Tamil in the University of Madras and is the author of many valuable publications. His great literary gifts received appropriate recognition by the Presidential award bestowed on him. In South India, his scholarship has been greatly appreciated. We, in the University, regard him as a great savant in Tamil literature.

Mr. Chancellor, I present to you Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai who has been unanimously recommended by the Syndicate and the Senate of the University as a fit and proper person, by reason of his eminent position and attainments to receive the Degree of Doctor of Literature (*Honoris Causa*) to which I pray that he may be admitted."

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(,, calm)
இ	—	i	(,, sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(,, machine)
உ	—	u	(,, full)
ஊ	—	u:	(,, rule)
எ	—	e	(,, fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(,, able)
ஐ	—	ai	(,, aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(,, opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(,, opium)
ஔ	—	au	(,, now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(,, church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(,, card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(,, threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(,, pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(,, atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex-articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(,, sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(,, angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(,, urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(,, anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(,, mate)
	ன	—	n	(,, enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(,, yard)
	ர	—	r	(,, red)
	ல	—	l	(,, leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(,, very)
	ழ	—	l-	(,, ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(,, hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(,, ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an ***unaspirated unvoiced*** value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a ***slightly aspirated*** unvoiced value, if preceded by a ***plosive or hard consonant.***

   e.g., பக்கம் - is pronounced pak**kh**am, not pak**k**am

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

   e.g., பங்கம் - is pronounced pan**g**am, not pan**k**am
   பஞ்சம் - „ pan**j**am, not pan**c**am,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes pal**h**alai not pal**k**alai
   எஃகு „ e**hh**u not ex**k**u

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became e**h**hu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil=Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the **exact** pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம்=Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l–	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ி to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ீ to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle, a vertical stroke or a loop to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ o:	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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